30/3/52

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

INDIAN PAINTING IN THE PUNJAB HILLS

BY

W. G. ARCHER

LONDON: HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

PRICE 8s. 6d. NET

State Museum,
LUCKNOW.

STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW
LIBRARY

Acc. No.
Book No.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

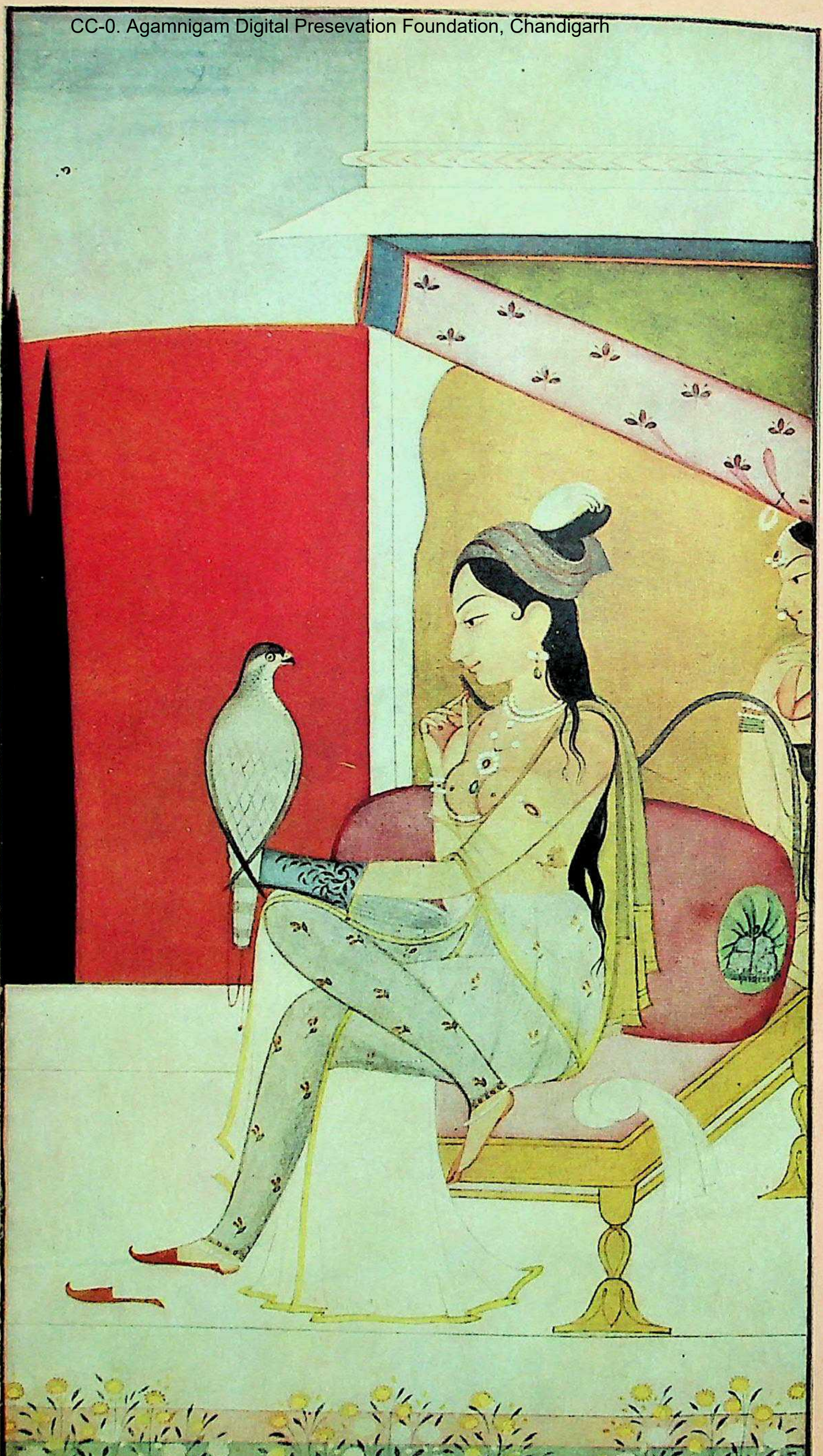
MUSEUM MONOGRAPH No. 3.
First published January 1952. Sold at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, and by His Majesty's Stationery Office at the addresses given on page 3 of cover. Crown copyright reserved. Printed in Great Britain by W. S. Cowell Ltd, at the Butter Market, Ipswich.

750.95405

A-1/57

75995

State Museum
LUCKNOW



VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

INDIAN PAINTING
IN THE PUNJAB HILLS

ESSAYS

BY

W. G. ARCHER

LONDON
HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1952

Foreword

THE essays in this book by Mr W. G. Archer, Keeper of the Indian Section, aim at identifying three distinct schools of Northern Indian Painting, all of which are represented by important examples in the Museum's collection. As such, the essays are primarily intended for the art-historian and are important original contributions to a subject which still requires much detailed research. But the essays have, in fact, a considerably wider appeal. Questions of style involve the consideration not only of detailed mannerisms but of fundamental attitudes to life. Mr Archer has accordingly dealt with questions of symbolism and imagery and it is hoped that both the student and the general reader will thus obtain a fuller insight into the nature and methods of Indian Painting.

LEIGH ASHTON,
Director

Victoria & Albert Museum,
London, S.W. 7

750.95405

Preface

THE original impetus to write these essays arose out of work on two important collections—the P. C. Manuk and Miss G. M. Coles bequest and the Sir William Rothenstein collection, subsequently acquired by the Museum. For it was clear that without a new consideration of Northern Indian Painting many pictures must remain of doubtful attribution. A study of these paintings, however, was insufficient for reaching fresh conclusions and I have been greatly aided by Mr J. C. French and Mr W. B. Manley, both of whom gave me the freest possible access to their private collections and by Mr R. L. D. Jasper who procured for me certain important photographs. Mr French has further increased my sense of obligation by generously allowing me to reproduce three photographs taken by him in the Punjab Himalayas and to use some hitherto unpublished information. Besides making these acknowledgements, I must also express my deep gratitude to the Trustees, Leverhulme Fellowships, for a grant towards the expenses of research on Indian art; to all those owners of collections who have kindly allowed either myself or the Museum authorities to photograph pictures in their possession and who have permitted their reproduction; and to Mrs Mildred Archer, Mr J. V. S. Wilkinson, Mr B. W. Robinson, Mr Basil Gray, Mr Douglas Barrett, Mr John Irwin and Mr G. D. A. McPherson, all of whom have either discussed particular pictures with me or made suggestive criticisms. Above all, I must record my permanent indebtedness to Rai Krishna Das, Mr Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Mr Karl Khandalawala, Dr Moti Chandra and Dr V. S. Agrawala, with all of whom I have spent intensely happy and instructive hours. It is in the work of these distinguished Indian scholars and collectors that the future of Indian art-history chiefly lies.

W. G. ARCHER

October, 1951

Contents

Page
I INTRODUCTION 5
II PAINTING IN GULER 17
III PAINTING IN JAMMU 45
IV PAINTING IN PŪNCH 71
NOTES 85
MAP 93
INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS 94
INDEX 97

Frontispiece: THE LADY WITH THE HAWK. Guler, *c.* 1765. Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 178-1950.)

Note on Pronunciation

Guler: 'u' as in 'coo', 'er' as in 'hair'.
Jammu: 'Jam' as rhyming with 'come', 'mu' as with 'coo'.
Punch: as if 'Poonch'.

I. INTRODUCTION

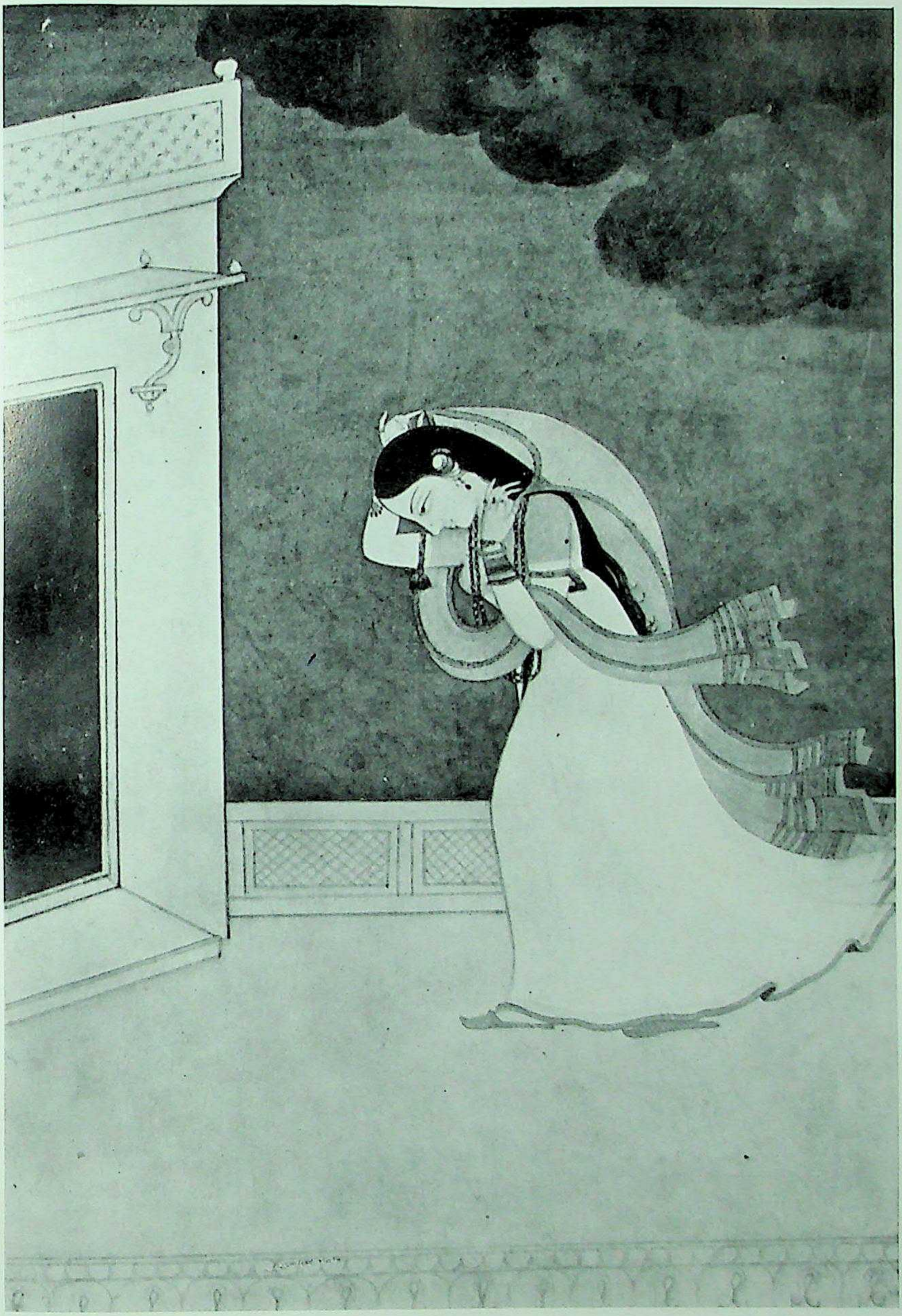
During the opening years of the twentieth century, conventional views of Indian painting were profoundly modified by the discovery of pictures coming from the Punjab Himalayas. Known as Pahari or paintings 'from the Hills', these pictures revealed an artistic tradition quite different from the Mughal practice to which students of Indian art were then accustomed. In certain cases, the subject matter paralleled that of the imperial artists. Hill rajas were often shown in audience, while chiefs were portrayed reclining on terraces with dancing girls or musicians attending upon them. Yet such works, common as they were in certain centres, were only a fraction of Pahari or Northern Indian art and in the great majority of instances, the pictures had an altogether different function—the illustration of Hindi and Sanskrit poetry. Themes were drawn from the Hindu classics—the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and some of the Puranas—but even more significantly, from the Gita Gobinda of Jayadeva and the general literature of love. The Gita Gobinda is a Sanskrit poem of the twelfth century describing the amorous conduct of Krishna while much of the greatest Indian poetry had been concerned with problems of romance.

The vogue for such pictures, epic and romantic, can only be explained in terms of Rajput society—its repressed wishes, its emotional needs, its poetic values, its dominant attitudes; and it is hardly surprising that the paintings which reflected these preoccupations should develop a distinctive style. The resources of art were exploited not for descriptive realism but for inducing a poetic trance. The rhythmical qualities of line were employed for achieving a sense of cadence. Colour was sometimes used symbolically—to suggest, as in the case of scarlet, the ardours of love. Even landscape was treated as a 'forest of symbols' in which each image whether of trees, flowers, rivers, rain, birds or animals contributed its fill of poetic suggestion. Elsewhere in India, painting had developed the expressive qualities of line and colour but nowhere outside the Punjab Himalayas were there achieved such exquisite renderings of the subtle ecstasies of romance.

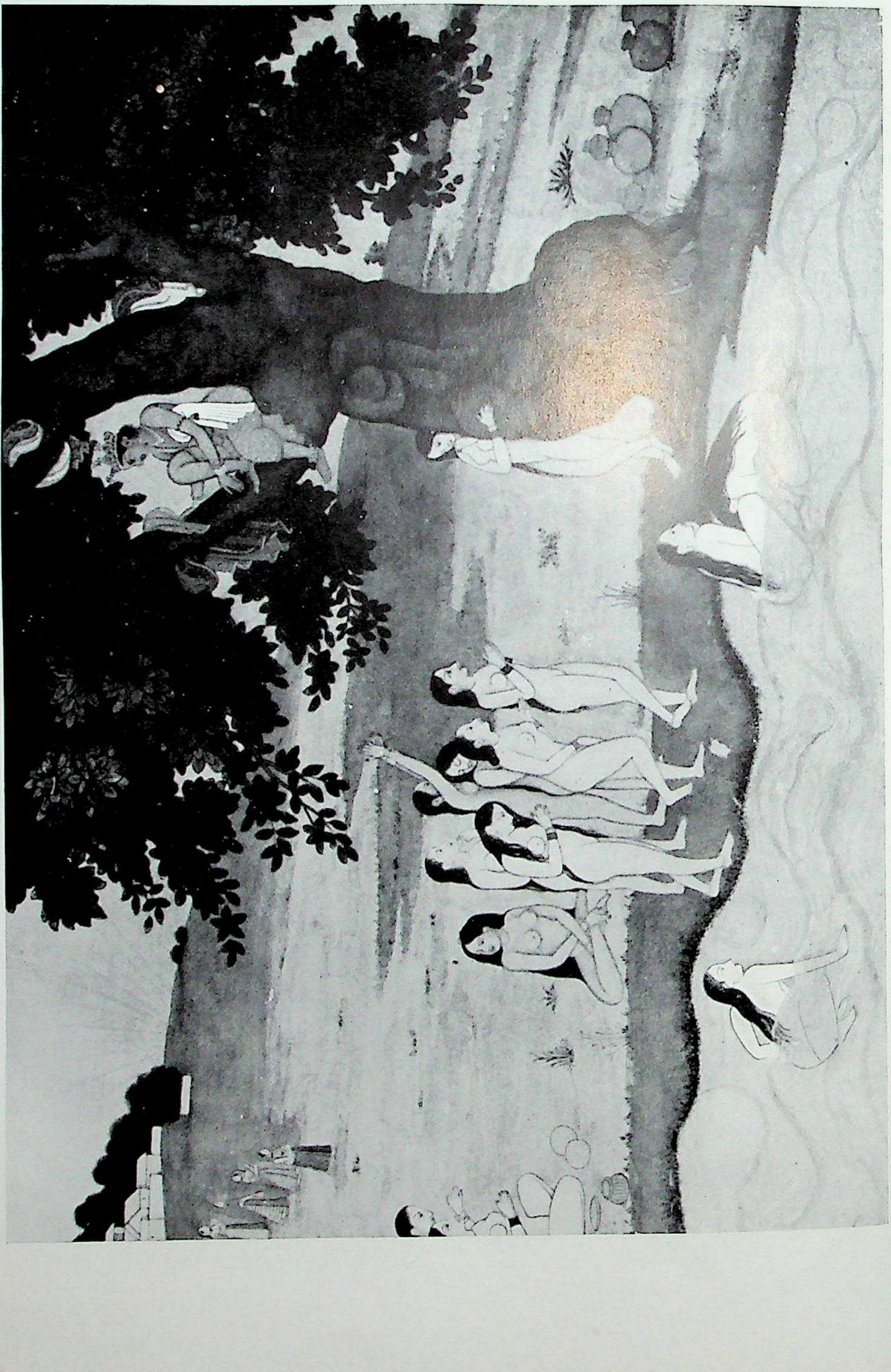
Such pictures possessed a certain essential quality, a spirit that was recognizably 'Pahari'. Yet in spite of these basic affinities, differences of style were also evident. The finest as well as the great majority were believed to emanate from the State of Kangra, while a second clearly-marked type was later identified as coming from Basohli. Such styles, however, were very far from exhausting all the various Pahari manners. Spread across an area two hundred miles in length, there were not less than thirty-eight States—each possessing a court, each with noble families, each with varying degrees of aristocratic culture.(1) In many of these States, painting undoubtedly existed—if not throughout the whole of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at any rate for certain periods of time in part, at least, of these areas. Yet although almost fifty years have now elapsed since pictures from the Hills were first marketed by dealers, we are still extremely ignorant of almost all these local variants. In the case of Kangra, the general achievement is fairly clear, though there is much which even here requires investigation. We know from the British traveller Moorcroft's account in 1820 that the Kangra court of Raja Sansar Chand (1775–1823) contained a large and flourishing school of gifted artists and this is confirmed by a Muhammadan historian of the Punjab.⁽²⁾ Yet while the general Kangra style is known (Figs. 1–4), inscribed and dated pictures are almost entirely lacking and as a result the exact stages of its growth are still to some extent obscure. The problem is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Sansar Chand was only ten years old when he suddenly succeeded his father, Tegh Chand (1774–5). He cannot, therefore, have exercised much personal influence prior to 1785 or 1790, yet by this time so developed was the 'Kangra' style that it had spread to Chamba where his rival Raj Singh, was painted in the 'Kangra' manner.⁽³⁾ While, therefore, Sansar Chand was undoubtedly fascinated by painting in the latter years of his reign and played a supreme role in its general advancement, the style itself must equally obviously have originated at an earlier date. The reign of his grandfather, Ghamand Chand (1751–74) hardly provides the answer, for scarcely any paintings have been discovered which are at all connected with him.⁽⁴⁾ There is certainly no indication of any highly developed school in Kangra prior to Sansar Chand. Thus a major problem of Pahari painting remains—from where did this great style come?⁽⁵⁾

Similar problems confront us when we consider subsequent developments. We know that as late as 1929, a few painters were still at work in Kangra⁽⁶⁾ and this being so, it is reasonable to assume that throughout the nineteenth century, pictures in the Kangra style continued to be painted within the Kangra valley. Yet the devastation caused in Kangra by the Gurkhas from 1805 to 1809 and the ruin of Sansar Chand's successor, Anirodh Chand (1823–9) must certainly have resulted in, at least, a partial dispersal. Paintings in the 'Kangra' style but with Sikh subject matter suggest that the Sikh cities of Lahore and Amritsar may have provided some of the artists with new centres. It is also probable that the style was taken to other States within the Hills. We know that a set of twenty-one paintings in Kangra style, illustrating the Hamir Hath were presented to Raja Iswari Sen of Mandi by a well-known Kangra artist, Sajnu, on the 16th day of Magh, 1810.⁽⁷⁾ These paintings can hardly have been executed in Kangra itself for throughout 1808 and much of the next year —the period when the paintings are said to have been produced—Sansar Chand was closely beseiged by the Gurkhas in his fort. It seems likely, therefore, that Sajnu had already migrated earlier in the invasions and that he completed the set and presented it to the raja in Mandi itself. Similar developments must almost certainly have occurred elsewhere yet which particular States employed which artists has yet to be decided. We are faced, in fact, with a vast number of pictures—all of them in 'Kangra' style, some of them certainly of non-Kangra origin but in respect of which we are still unable to specify the provenance.

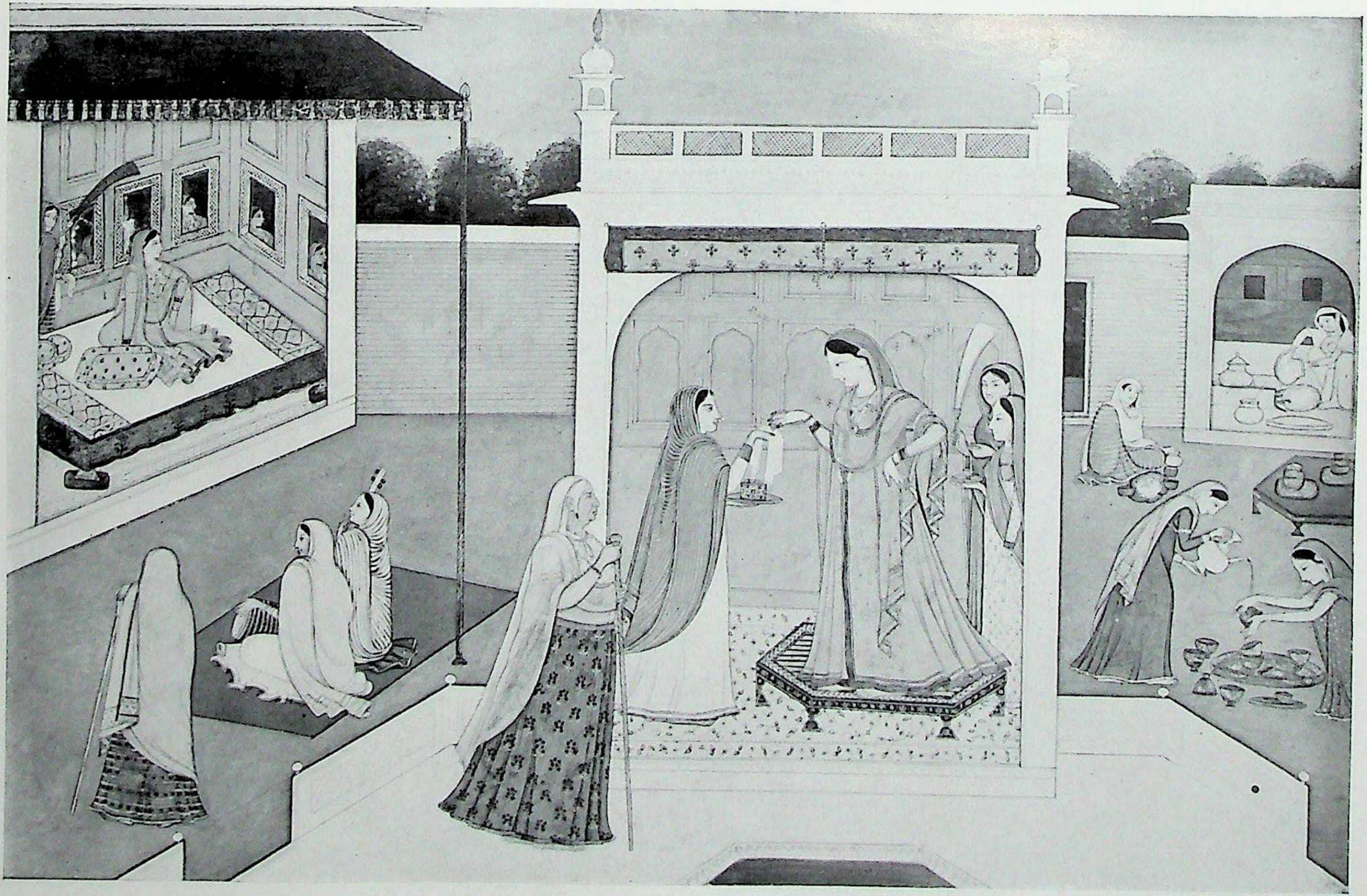
The State of Basohli raises equally difficult issues. Pictures closely resembling the kind illustrated by Figure 5 were attributed to Basohli in 1918 by the Curator of the Central



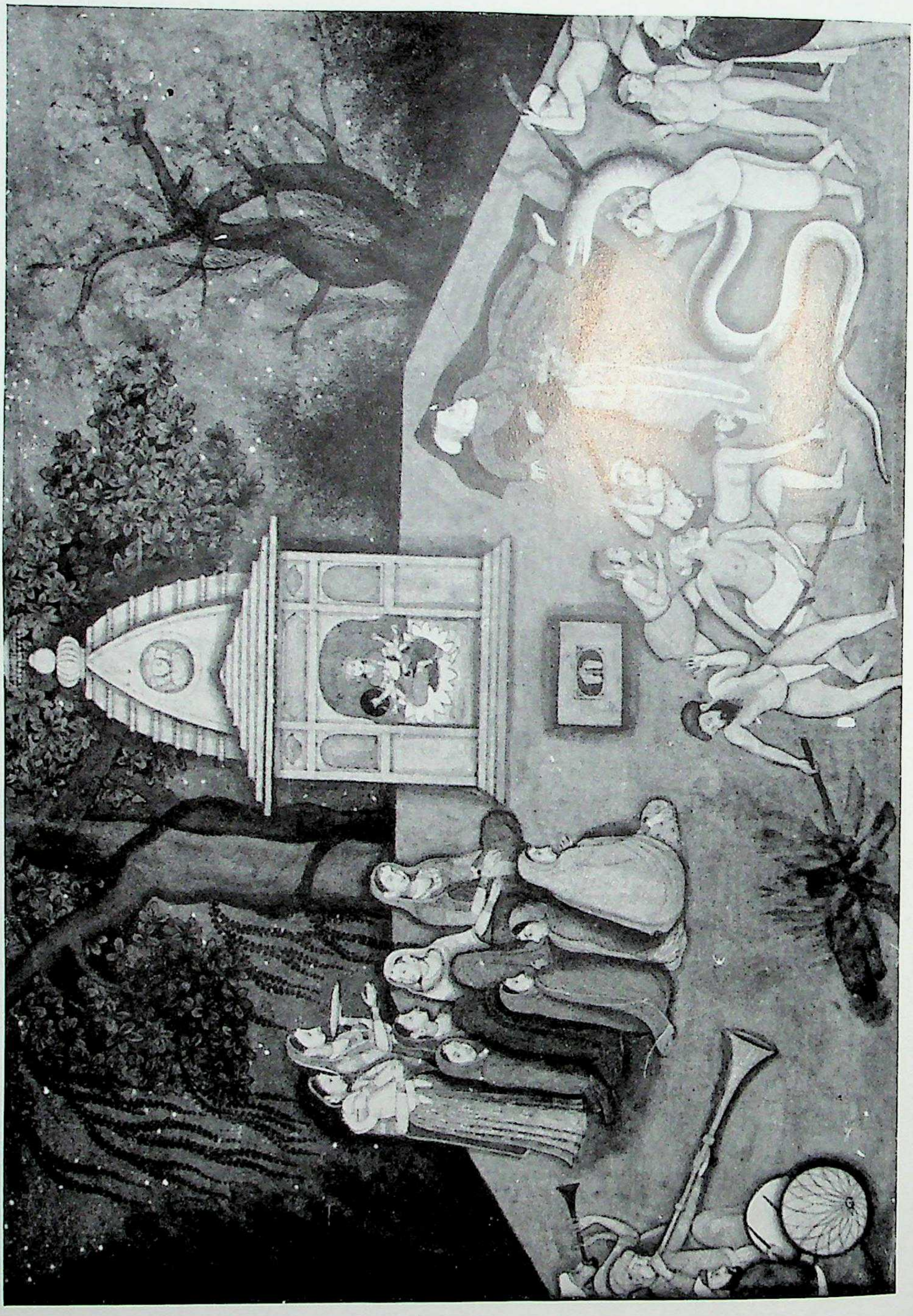
1. The Gathering Storm. Kangra, *c.* 1800.



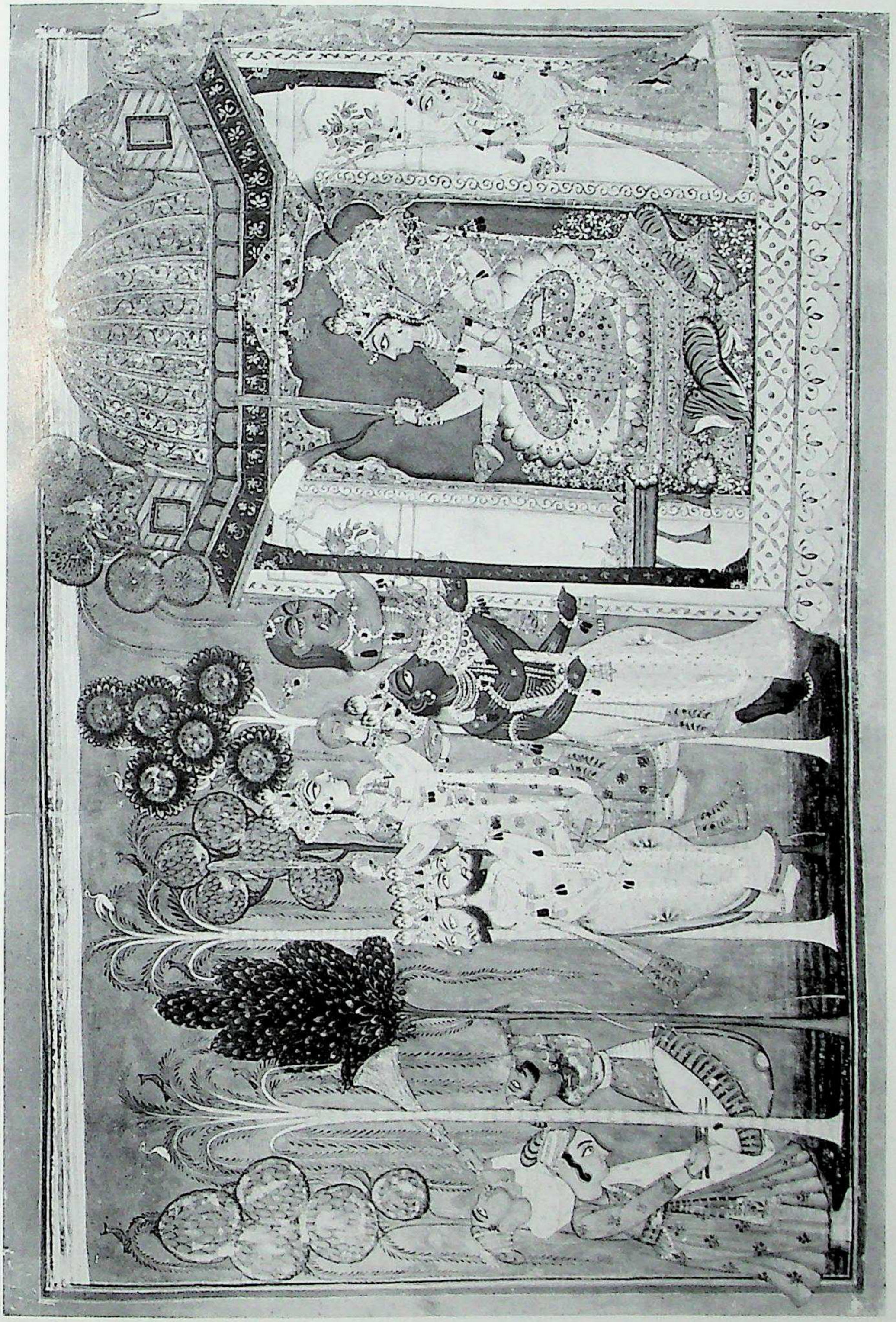
2. The Milkmaids begging back their Clothes from Krishna. Kangra, *c.* 1785.



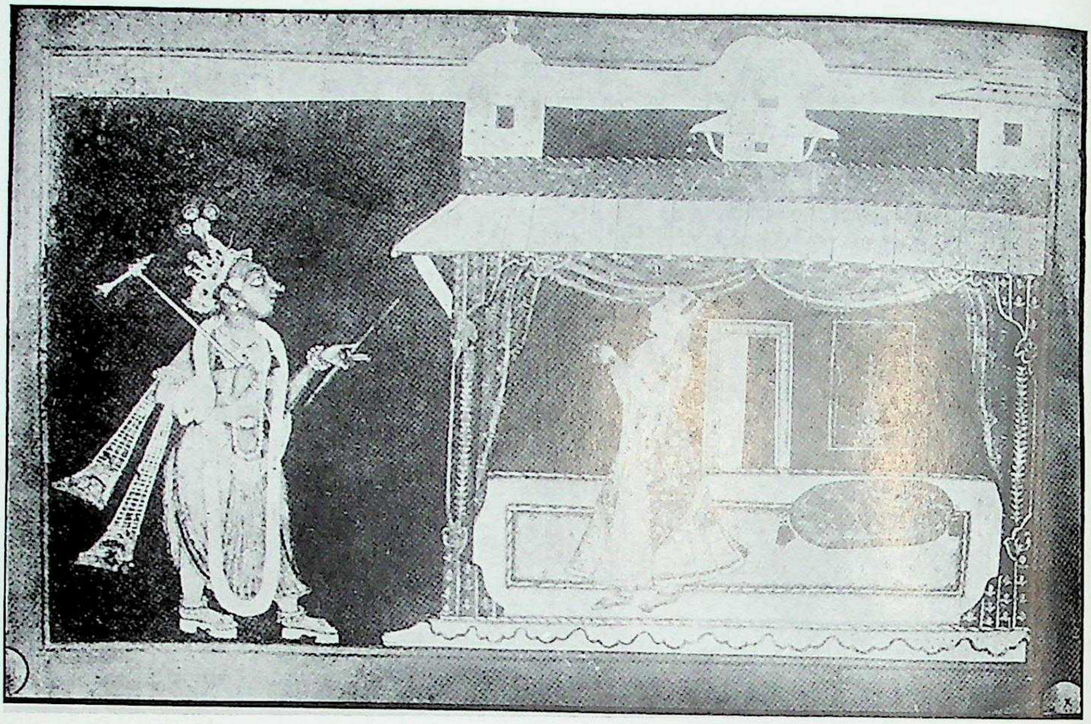
3. Palace Lady with her Maids. Kangra, *c.* 1790.



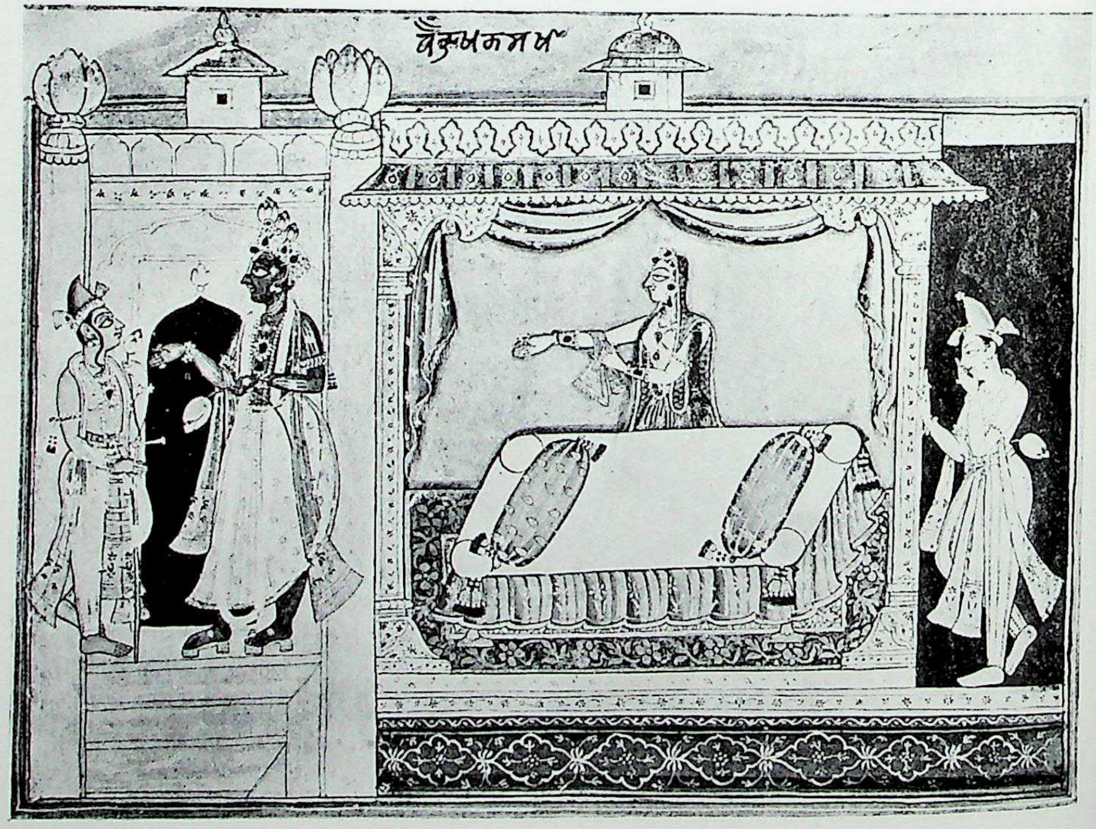
4. Krishna rescuing the sleeping Nanda. Kangra, *c.* 1785.



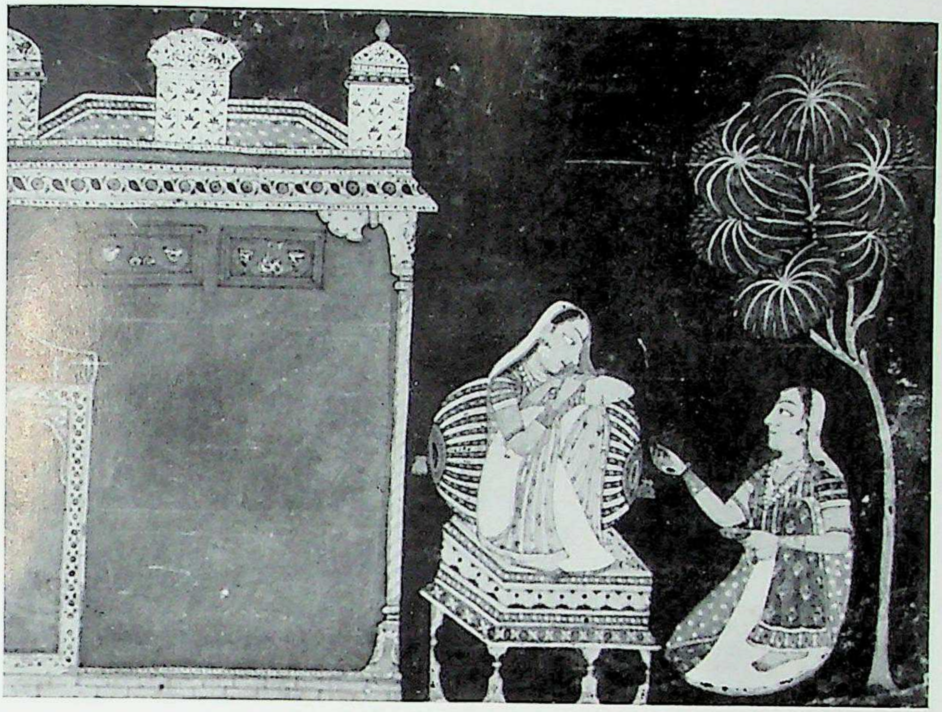
5. Durga enthroned in a Pavilion, with Gods and Musicians attending. Basohli, *c.* 1695.



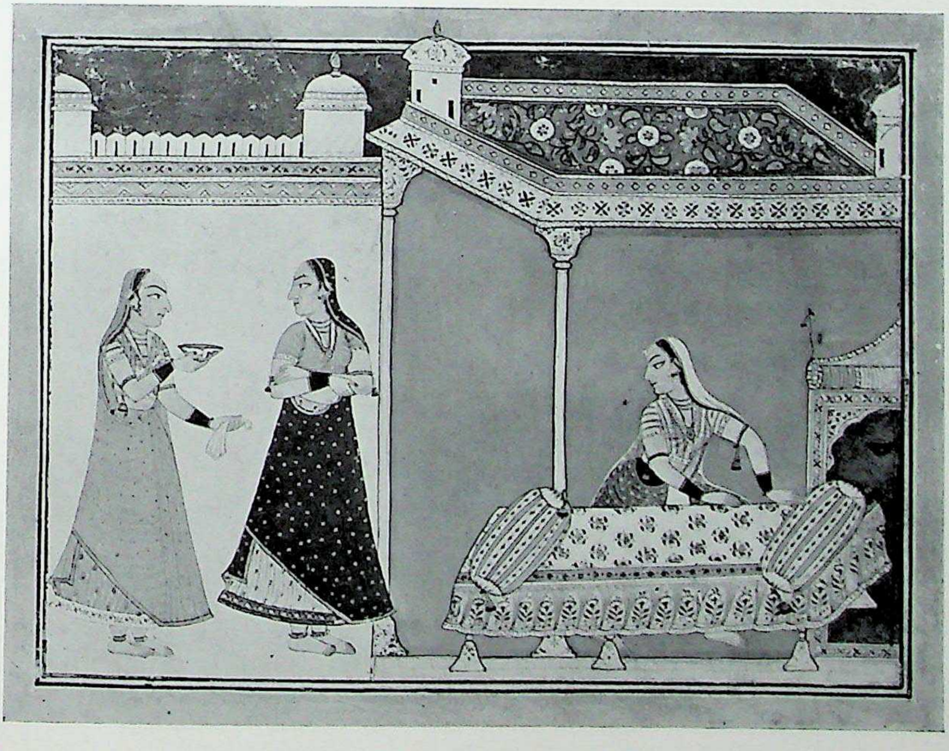
6. Krishna approaching Radha's Chamber. Basohli, 1695.



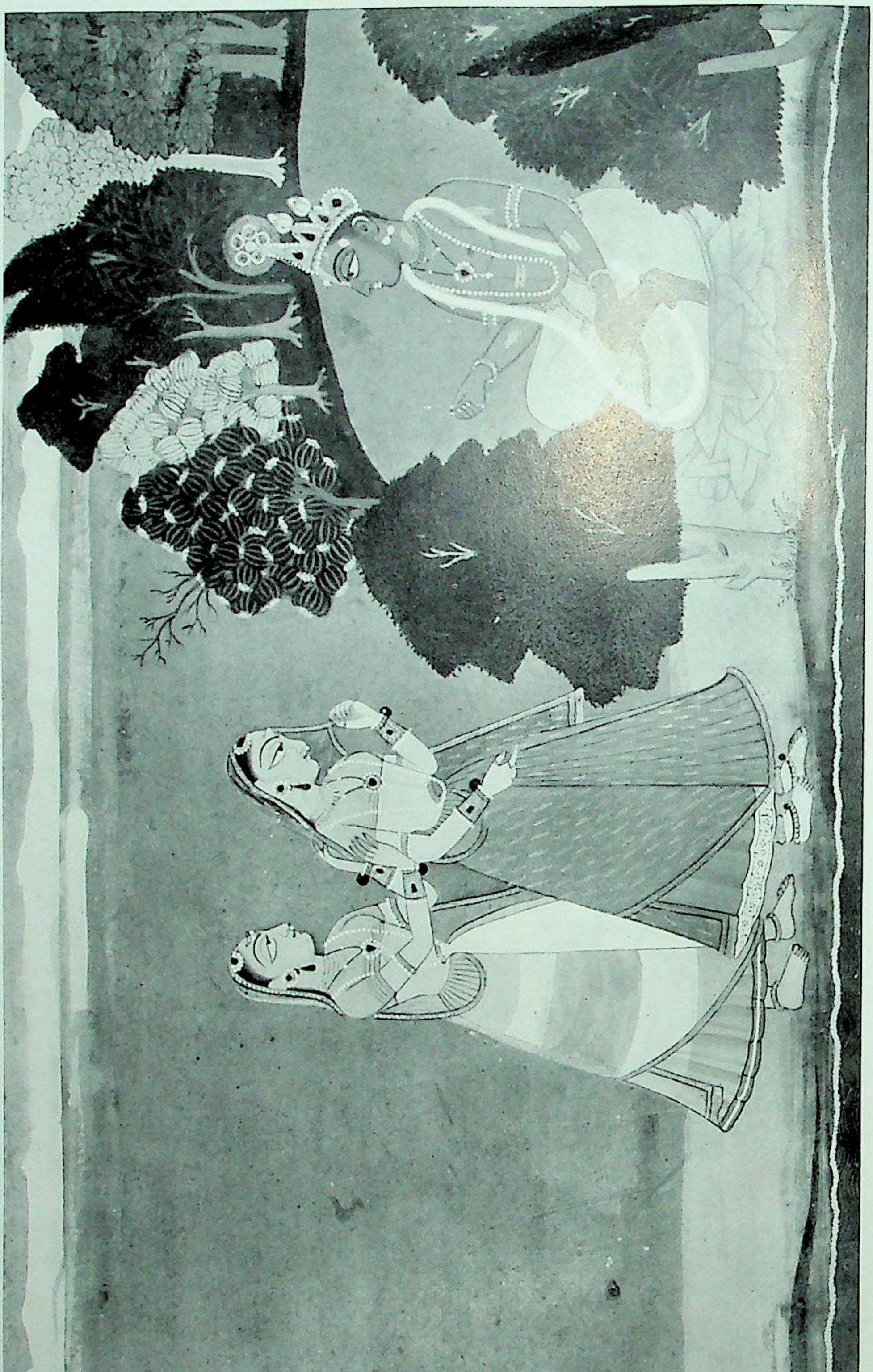
7. Krishna dispatching a Message while Radha waits. Basohli, 1695.



8. Radha disconsolate. Basohli, 1695.



9. Radha preparing the Chamber for Krishna. Basohli, 1695.



10. Krishna awaiting Radha who approaches with a Friend. Basohli, 1730.

Museum, Lahore,⁽⁸⁾ while some years later certain other pictures, inscribed by Basohli artists, were also discovered. One of these (Fig. 6) dated 1695, was first published by Hirananda Sastri,⁽⁹⁾ while examples of a second series (Figs. 8 and 9) are in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection.⁽¹⁰⁾ Part of yet another series illustrating the Gita Gobinda and dated 1730 is in the Central Museum, Lahore, with further examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum and in private collections. The colophons of the first two sets show that they were both painted at Basohli for Raja Kirpal Pal (*c.* 1678–93), while the inscription on the third reveals that it was executed in the reign of Raja Medini Pal (*c.* 1725–36) for a lady named Manaku.⁽¹¹⁾ From these paintings we can isolate a bold Basohli style remarkable for its savage intensity but the pictures are, individually, so different that no coherent account of the school has so far been attempted. Thanks to Ajit Ghose's paper, 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting',⁽¹²⁾ we can certainly associate with Basohli many pictures which would otherwise have been quite indeterminate in origin but their actual dating and indeed their exact position in the general development of the school can only be surmised.

In one more case—the State of Tehri Garhwal—a local style of painting has been definitely established. An artist, Mola Ram, is known to have lived in the State from 1760 to 1833 and assiduous attempts have been made, notably by Mr Mukandi Lal, to identify his work. It is possible, however, that many paintings attributed to the artist are the work of his descendants, and while a number of pictures by other artists are in a quite distinctive style, the major influence was obviously that of Kangra. We are forced therefore to admit that while a school of painting existed in Tehri Garhwal from the end of the eighteenth century, its history and achievements are still, to some extent, uncertain.⁽¹³⁾

If this is the position in respect of three important States, it is even more unsatisfactory with regard to others. Did painting develop in Bhadrawah? Was there a local school in Samba? Did Kotla have its own distinctive manner? What course did painting take in Kulu? Did artists flourish in Nurpur? Was there painting in Bandhralta, Jasrota, Mankot or Bhau? To such questions, we must admit that while in certain cases clues exist, there are still no final answers. And if we approach the problem from the other side and enquire from what area particular pictures emanated, we are as likely as not to reach the same condition of frustration. Style after style still awaits identification while even in a classic study such as Coomaraswamy's *Rajput Painting* not less than twenty ascriptions must now be discounted as wholly imaginary.⁽¹⁴⁾

In these circumstances we are forced to consider two alternatives. In the first place, we can abandon the search for schools and regard each picture as in some degree expressive of the region as a whole. In other words, we can accept the term 'Pahari' as final and concentrate our energies on questions of interpretation as distinct from those of attribution. Such a course has certainly the merit of simplicity. Yet for the intimate understanding of a style, much more is needed. To appreciate a Pahari painting fully we need to know the exact conditions in which it was produced, the factors which controlled its idioms, the precise needs which its style fulfilled. None of these facts are accessible unless we first know the place where it was executed and can estimate with fair degrees of accuracy the date of its production. Although the Punjab Himalayas possessed important common features, there were perceptible differences between particular areas. A State such as Chamba backed by snow-covered mountains was in an obviously different category from Jasrota which abutted on the Plains. In a similar way, the State of Kulu lying in the higher mountains was clearly quite different from that of Mankot which was bounded by the lower hills. To label all these areas 'Pahari' has the great advantage of stressing their common spirit and effectively distinguishing their products from those of Rajputana, Delhi and the Plains; but for all other purposes it is dangerously over-simple for it obscures precisely those local factors on which the most intimate forms of expression depend.

We are forced, therefore, to explore a second alternative. In certain exceptional cases, we possess either an inscription which reveals the place of execution of a picture or separate evidence which informs us where a painting was either seen or procured. This latter evidence is obviously not a final proof of origin but where the style is quite distinct from that of other schools, we are justified in tentatively accepting the place of discovery as that of execution. Moreover, in certain instances, while the painting itself tells us nothing of its date or place of execution, an inscription provides us with the name of its subject. When these inscriptions are in English, they must obviously be treated with great caution, though in certain cases the information may be based on local enquiries and provide important clues. When however the inscription is in the vernacular—and particularly when it is in the Dogri dialect and the Takri script (the language current in the northern portion of the Hills)—the case is different. There is no reason why most of these inscriptions should not be authentic, and unless there are very strong circumstances suggesting the contrary, the information which they give should be accepted as a pointer to the facts. Yet even here we must apply certain principles. If the painting is a portrait, an inscription giving the sitter's name is not in itself a clue to its place of origin for the portrait may well have been taken when its subject was away from home or may even have been included in a series of contemporary notables drawn from neighbouring States. But again it is possible to lay down certain tentative rules. When the inscription refers to the subject in tones of obvious respect, when, for example, it employs the prefix 'Sri'(15) or the title 'Maharaja', the probability is that both subject and artist come from the same place. Similarly if the domicile of the subject is not noted, we can reasonably infer that the artist was painting either a local character or one from the immediate vicinity, since there would then be no need to record his place of origin. Conversely where the name of the sitter is given but with no honorific, we can be fairly certain that the subject was a stranger. If the name of a State is given, as for example, 'Guleria', 'Jasrotia', 'Chambawal', as part of the sitter's description, we can be even surer that the subject of the picture was portrayed away from his own State. Such examples however are far from common and when these pictures have been exhausted we are confronted with paintings for which no evidence of any kind is forthcoming. For these, the only clue is style and there remains only one procedure which can usefully be adopted.

When a picture exists of which we know the school, we can treat it as a 'key' to other examples. We can analyse its style and then examine what further pictures employ the same idioms or share their general effects. We must clearly not expect to find complete identity, for in course of time each school extended and altered its idioms. We must be prepared in fact to let one picture lead us to another, the second take us to a third and not to be surprised if the last should differ perceptibly from the first. All three may yet be products of the same expanding tradition. Above all, we must bear in mind the final impact of each painting, the sum-total of all its idioms. These may well suggest conclusions quite different from its details. Only in this way can we gradually obtain a series of groups—each linked by common traits of style, each suggesting a separate form of painting. If these groups appear to be distinct from others—to have a character and spirit of their own—we can provisionally ascribe them to the States from which we obtained our original examples.

Such a method cannot establish a school beyond all doubt—at the most it can only demonstrate affinities and propound a tentative arrangement. Yet pending the emergence of additional evidence, there appears no other way by which our knowledge of Pahari painting can be widened and our impressions reduced to order. That, at any rate, is the immediate need and in the following essays the problems of painting in three important States will be examined.

II. PAINTING IN GULER

THE State of Guler played a decisive part in the development of Pahari painting in the eighteenth century. Not only did it develop a local art of the greatest delicacy and charm, but the final version of this Guler style was taken to Kangra in about 1780—thus becoming the 'Kangra' style itself. Guler is not merely one of thirty-eight small centres of Pahari art. It is the originator and breeder of the greatest style in all the Punjab Hills.

To justify this thesis will be the purpose of this essay. But before we consider particular pictures, we must take note of three preliminary points. When Guler was founded in 1405 as an offshoot of Kangra, a series of unusual circumstances(1) gave it a special relationship to the parent State. Its first Raja had already ruled in Kangra before founding Guler and being older than his Kangra successor had retained a higher order of social precedence within the family unit, the Katoch Rajput clan. This higher status was inherited by his descendants and as a result it was Kangra which invariably looked to Guler, not Guler to Kangra. How far this relationship led to a constant respect by Kangra residents for Guler taste we cannot say, but if this powerful State did in fact adopt the art of its minor neighbour, the existence of this special relationship may well have been a contributing factor.

But the geographical position of Guler is also of some significance. Lying south of Kangra by the river Beas, it was easily accessible from the Plains and as a result was continually subject to outside influence. It was perhaps for this reason that although at various times its rulers achieved great military glory, their wars were normally conducted under the Mughal aegis. Raja Rupchand (*c.* 1610–35) for example, waged twenty-two campaigns in the Hills, but largely at the instance of his overlord, the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan. Raja Man Singh (1635–61) achieved renown as a general of Aurungzeb, while Raja Bikram Singh (1661–75) also served in the imperial forces and it was probably during one of these campaigns that a Mughal artist portrayed him riding on an elephant.⁽²⁾ In such circumstances a small border State could hardly aspire to great political influence and it is not surprising that as the Mughal empire declined in the early eighteenth century under the threat first of Persian and then of Afghan invasion, it was the more remote States such as Jammu, Chamba and Kangra which benefited from the turmoil and began to advance in power. Certainly in the case of the three rulers with whom we shall presently be concerned, political advancement seems to have played only a minor part in their lives. Raja Dalip Singh (1695–*c.* 1730) kept free of major wars. Raja Gobardhan Singh (*c.* 1730–73) impinged so little on outside events that the Punjab historians, Hutchinson and Vogel, have only been able to conjecture his dates, while Prakash Singh (1773–90) is mainly memorable for preserving the State intact without recourse to war.⁽³⁾ Geography, in fact, is the main clue to Guler developments. It was because the State was close to the Plains that its rajas were precluded from meddling with politics and thus were free to cultivate the arts. And the same factor—nearness to the Plains—made possible an equally important development, stimulation by outside artists. Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the most accomplished centres of Indian painting—the centres with the highest degrees of naturalistic skill—were all in close contact with the imperial Mughal court. With the decline of the empire, there occurred a far more general diffusion of the late Mughal style and while we need not assume that artists actually migrated from Delhi to the Hills, painters on the fringes doubtless moved much further in. If the rise of Kangra painting is due to the inoculation of a local style with Mughal refinement and naturalism, no State other than Guler, at the foot of the Kangra valley, was better situated for fostering this development.

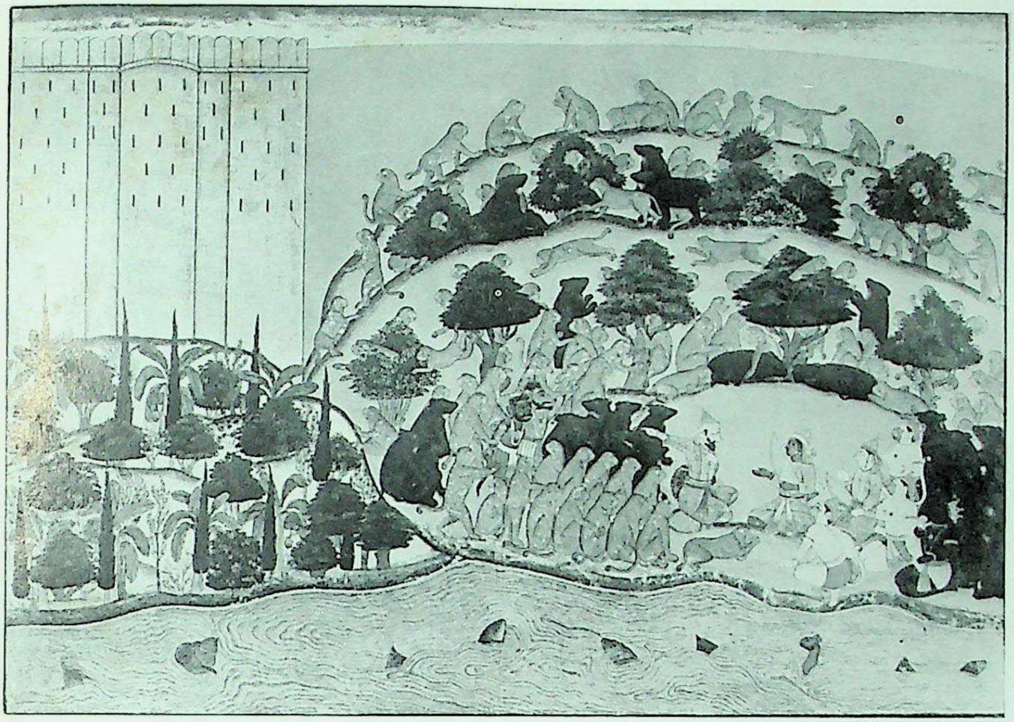
The third point concerns the actual evidence for eighteenth-century art in Guler. Ajit Ghosh who visited the State early in the present century noted that 'the tradition is still strong that Haripur, the capital of Guler, was a most important centre of Kangra art almost down to the time of the late Raja Raghunath Singh',⁽⁴⁾ while in his book, *Himalayan Art*, J. C. French has given a valuable account of the then Raja of Guler's family collection. He describes the portrait of Raja Bikram Singh to which we have already referred and also reproduces a study of Raja Gobardhan Singh listening to music. This ruler, Mr French states, 'is remembered in the Hills as the hero of the "Horse War". He had a splendid charger which the Mogul Governor of a neighbouring province coveted. He asked the Raja for it. The Raja refused and war followed. The Raja defeated the Mogul army and kept the horse'. This horse, Mr French adds, was evidently 'a strange animal to modern eyes; heavy, massive, with a broad chest and back, thick neck and strong bones'. But so great was Gobardhan Singh's enthusiasm for it that it was constantly depicted by his artists and Mr French 'saw several drawings of this horse in the Raja of Guler's collection, with Gobardhan Singh mounted on it'.(5) Such evidence is significant in the extreme for, although the actual course of Guler painting has still to be traced—its reconstruction is, in fact, our present objective—the conclusion that a school of painting existed under Raja Gobardhan Singh (*c.* 1730–73) is inescapable. Particular paintings have still to be discussed but the school itself is incontestibly a fact.

A first means of identification is provided by a group of fourteen pictures, all of them illustrating the *Ramayana.*(6) The subject is the dramatic moment in the epic when Sita has been captured by Ravana, the demon king of Lanka and her husband, Rama, has collected his monkey hosts with a view to storming Ravana's citadel and effecting her rescue. Figure 12 shows the many-headed Ravana concerting plans with his demon advisers, Figure 13 portrays Ravana tempting Sita while in Figure 11, also from the same set, a bear battalion has joined the monkeys and Rama himself is shown in animated discussion. When first published by Coomaraswamy,(7) all these pictures were ascribed to Jammu. Coomaraswamy did not, however, adduce any evidence for such an attribution, while Ajit Ghose has pointed out that they were 'actually obtained in Guler' where he himself 'also secured a large number of drawings identical in treatment'. 'The provenance in these cases' he says 'cannot be lightly brushed aside'(8) and indeed we have only to compare them with Figures 5–10 to realize that while they have certain points in common with pictures from Basohli—the school which Coomaraswamy labelled Jammu—they are even more decidedly the products of another and quite different tradition. Their resemblance to Basohli art consists in the use of a flat reddish orange ground, the depiction of the sky as a tangled strip of blue, the employment of Basohli-like idioms in the rendering of the trees and in a slight but perceptible enlargement of the eyes. This latter convention, however, is confined only to the male characters whereas the female figures, as in Figure 13, differ entirely from all that is so far known of their Basohli counterparts. As against these likenesses, the differences are considerable for not only are the compositions crowded with figures but wavy straggling landscapes are blended with geometric architecture and the total impression is one of lush vegetation and seething movement. At the same time, certain un-Basohli but quite distinctive idioms are also present. Among the vegetation which hugs the hillsides, cypresses and plantains are a constant feature. Red, white and sombre blue are brought into frequent juxtaposition while long straight lines divide the composition into angular compartments. This is particularly noticeable in the paintings which depict the Fort at Lanka and the embattlements which surround it. The series, in fact, possesses not only a character which is altogether different from that of known Basohli pictures but it includes a number of details which also make it quite distinct from other Pahari schools. When these facts are borne in mind along with Ajit Ghose's evidence as to provenance, there can be little doubt that the series did, in fact, originate in Guler and that its pictures represent a style, possibly deriving from Basohli but already transmuted into a local manner. The series is not dated but in view of its rounded treatment of the figures, its use of tree idioms similar to those in Figure 10 (Basohli, 1730) and, at the same time, its slightly awkward admixture of schematic structure and lively naturalism, we can perhaps attribute it to 1720—when the pious Raja Dalip Singh (1695–c.1730) was ruler of Guler.

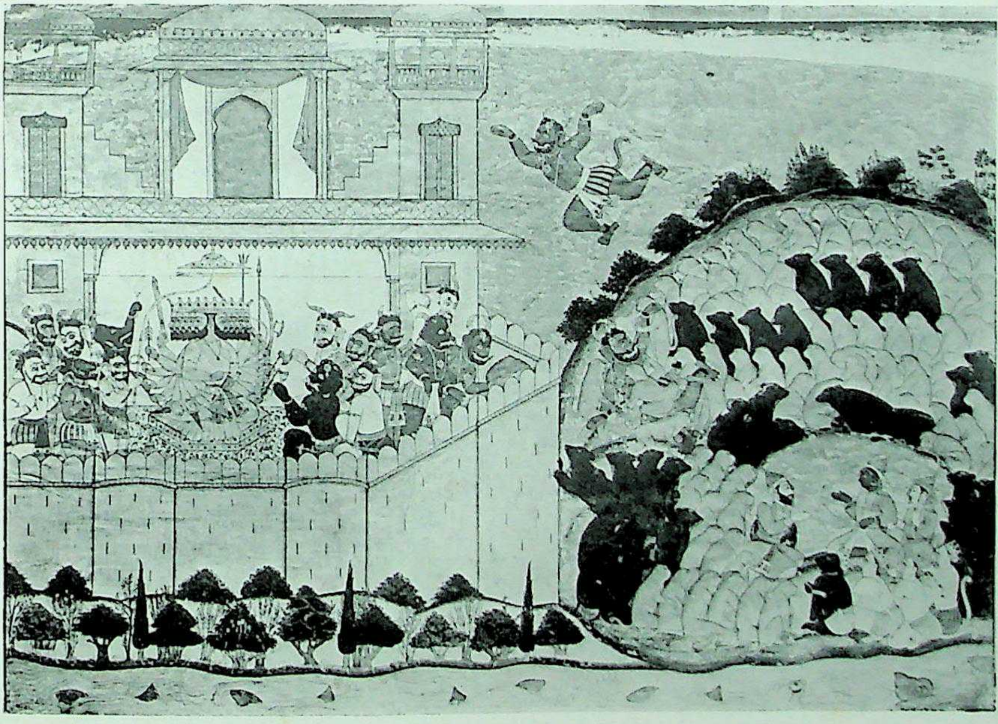
Such a series represents Guler painting at the commencement of its tradition. The next stage is somewhat later and evidence of its character is fortunately provided in two important studies of Raja Gobardhan Singh himself. The first of these is the portrait to which we have already referred—a picture which is specially important for our purpose because it is dated 1743. In the reproduction in *Himalayan Art*, however, part of the picture was omitted and I am greatly indebted to Mr French for generously permitting me to reproduce it in its full form (Fig. 16). This picture must almost certainly be accepted as a Guler product for not only is it a traditional part of the present Raja's family collection but its whole structure negatives any other assumption. The Raja is shown not in isolation, which is what we would expect had the picture been executed beyond the State, but as the central figure in a formal palace scene. The courtiers who surround him are recognizable individuals and it would be against all probability to suppose that such a complicated scene involving so many character-sketches could possibly have been painted away from headquarters. Moreover, if we are right in attributing Figures 11–13 to Guler, the fact that the present portrait is obviously related to them raises the presumption that Guler must be its only possible source. It is true that in general technique the study of Gobardhan Singh is considerably more sophisticated yet its most striking detail—the white terrace with its great obtuse angles and long straight lines—at once provokes comparison with the Fort at Lanka. Equally, in the flat wash of colour which serves as background, the curving rim which represents the sky and the arrangement of the forms in a single shallow plane, we possess still further affinities with the earlier paintings.

A second portrait (Fig. 22), in the Municipal Museum, Allahabad, is also a study of the same Guler Raja. It shows Gobardhan Singh on a palace verandah with a group of ladies seated before him. The picture's exact provenance, before it reached the Museum, has not been recorded but so close are some of its details to our former studies that it must certainly be accepted as a Guler product. The geometry of the architecture is once again emphasized, the figures are carefully grouped in different postures, resembling not only the musicians in Figure 16 but the demons in Figure 12, while the trees which blossom in the garden are obviously a refined variant of those which rim the hillside in Figure 11. Compared with Figure 16, however, the Raja looks slightly older and the painting may therefore have been executed some years later, perhaps in 1750.

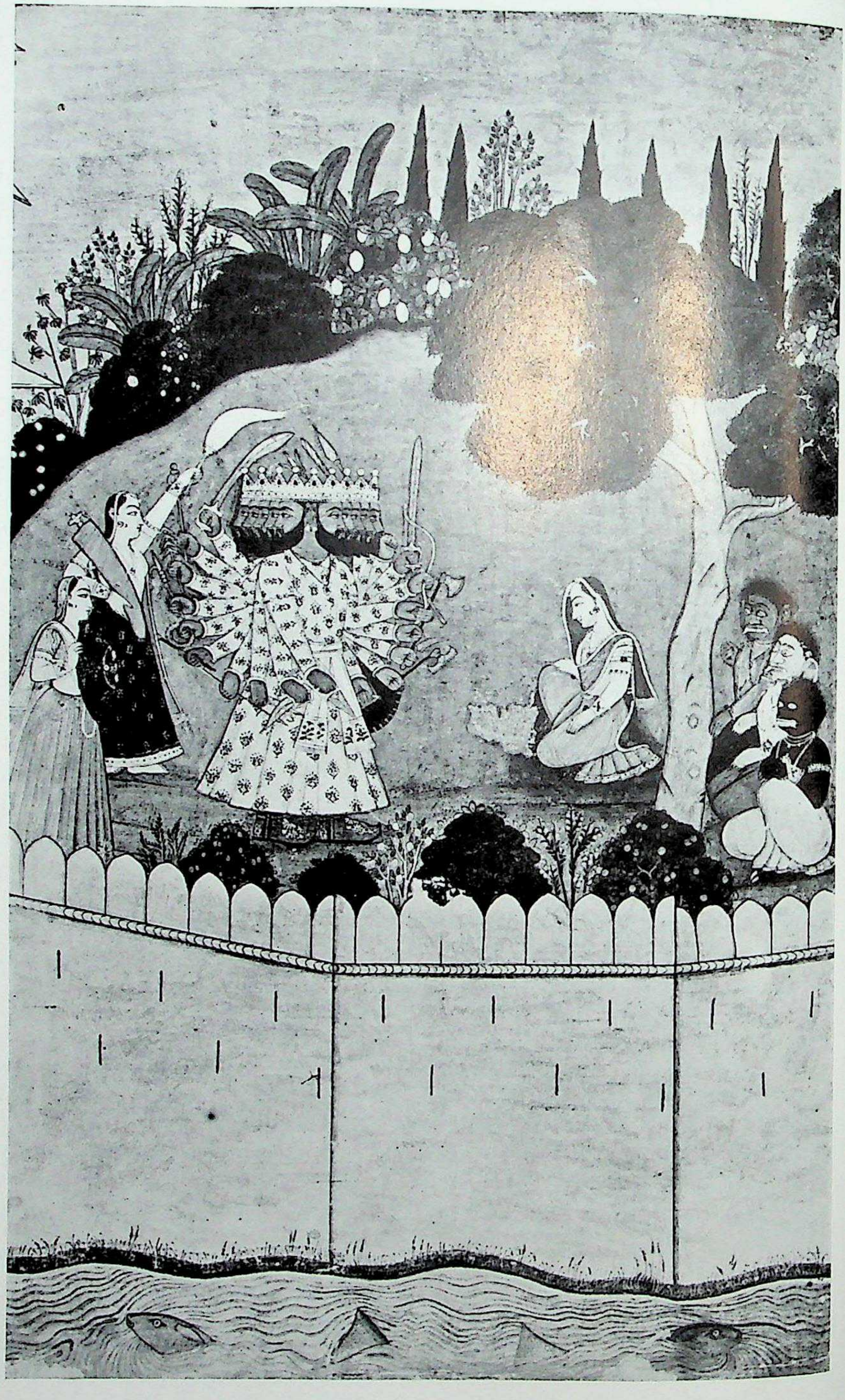
These two portraits take us an important stage further. But a third means of identification still remains in a group of five pictures, all in the Central Museum, Lahore, and all attributed to Guler in the Museum catalogue. These entries were made because the pictures differed in style from known examples of other Pahari art and because they were actually obtained in Guler itself.(9) The first (Fig. 24) is a portrait of Gobardhan Singh's son, Prakash Singh, seated on a terrace with horses parading behind him. The figure is of a



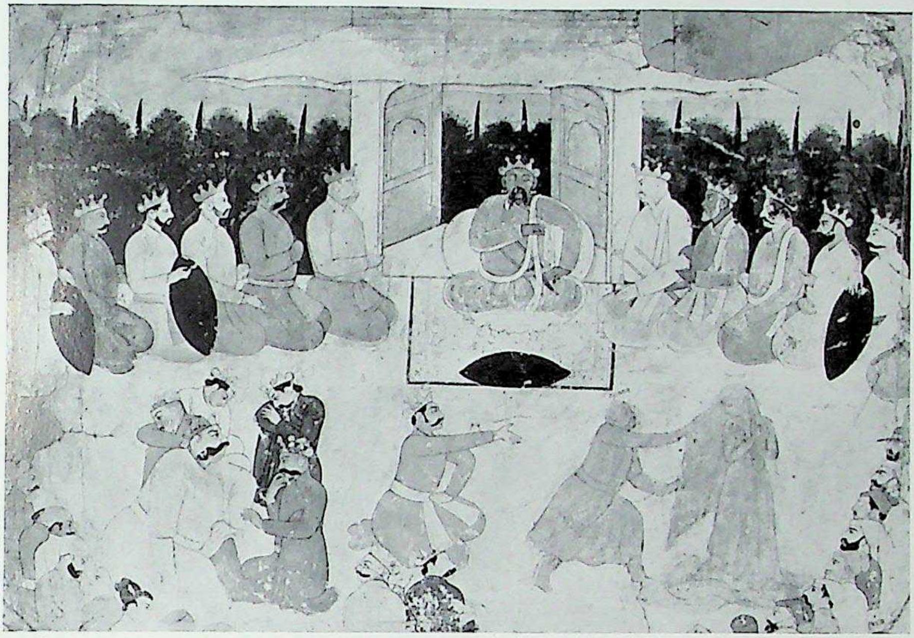
11. Rama encamped before Lanka. Guler, *c.* 1720.



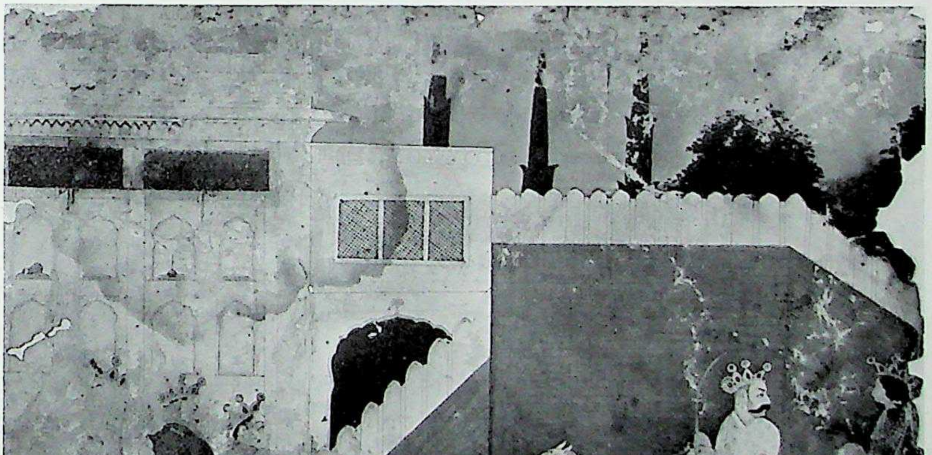
12. The Siege of Lanka. Guler, *c.* 1720.



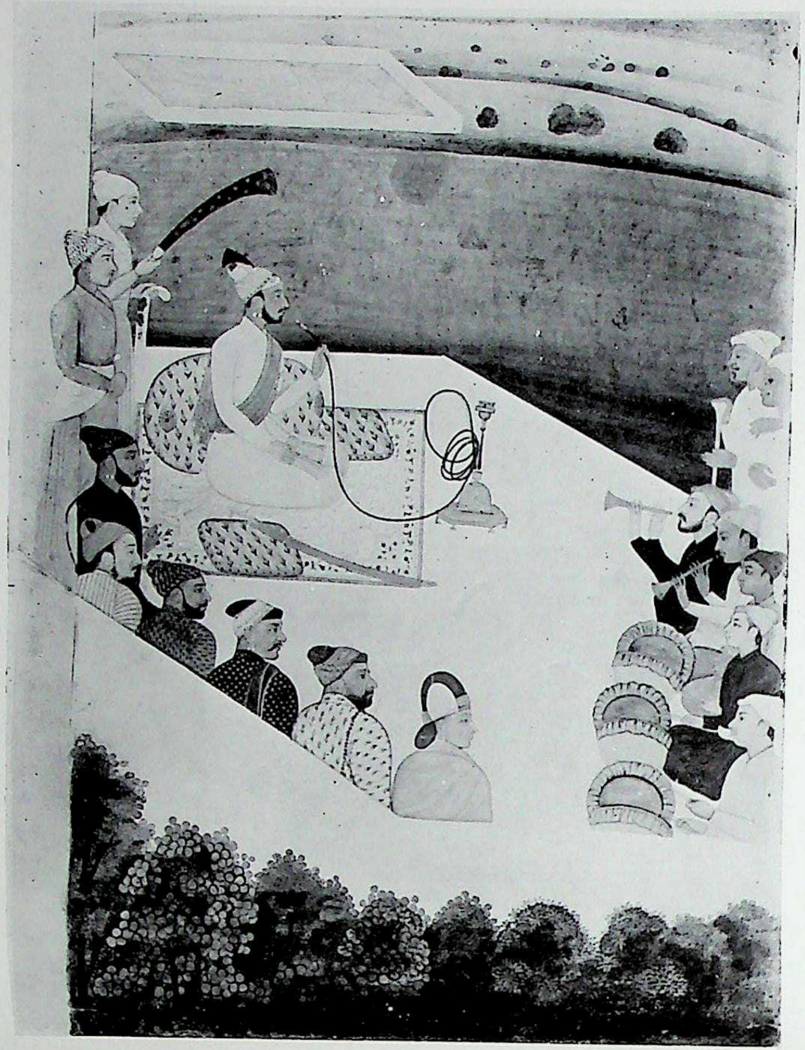
13. Ravana tempting Sita. Guler, *c.* 1720.



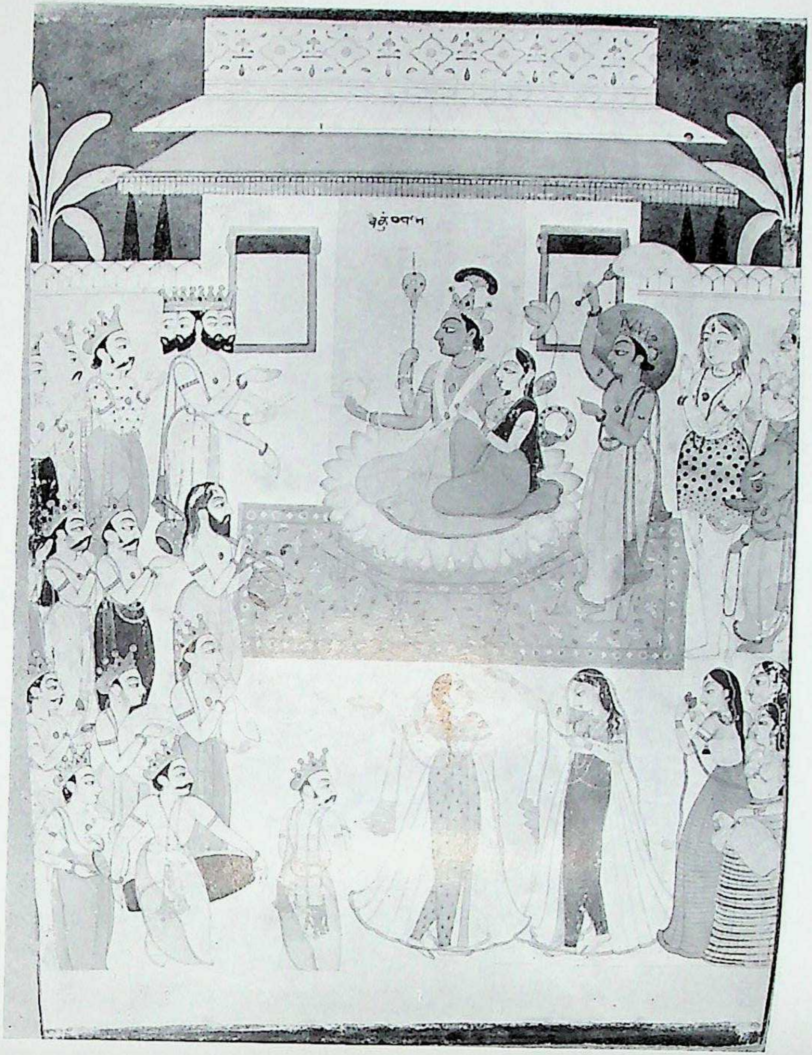
14. The Unveiling of Draupadi. Guler, *c.* 1730.



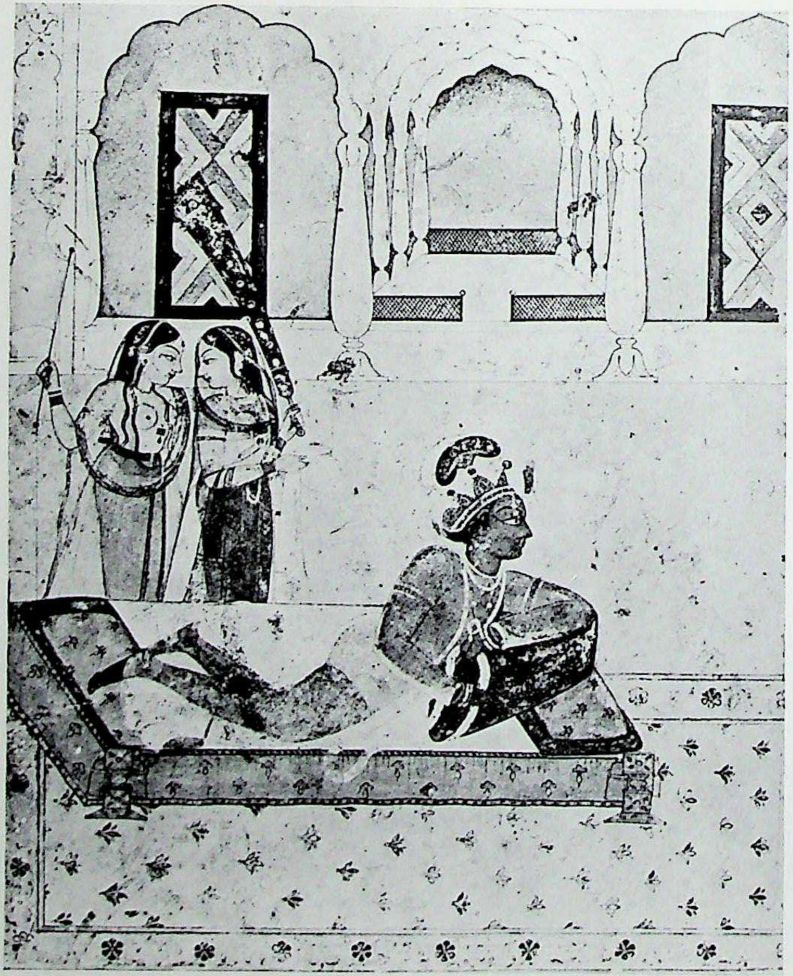
15. The Arrival of the Chariot. Guler, *c.* 1730.



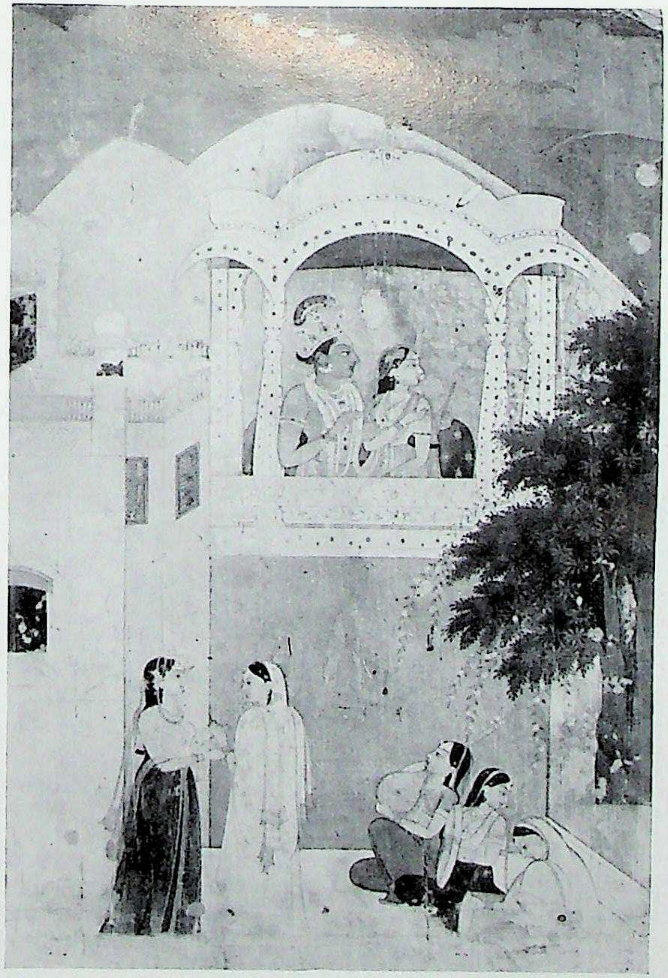
16. Raja Gobardhan Singh of Guler listening to Music. Guler, 1743.



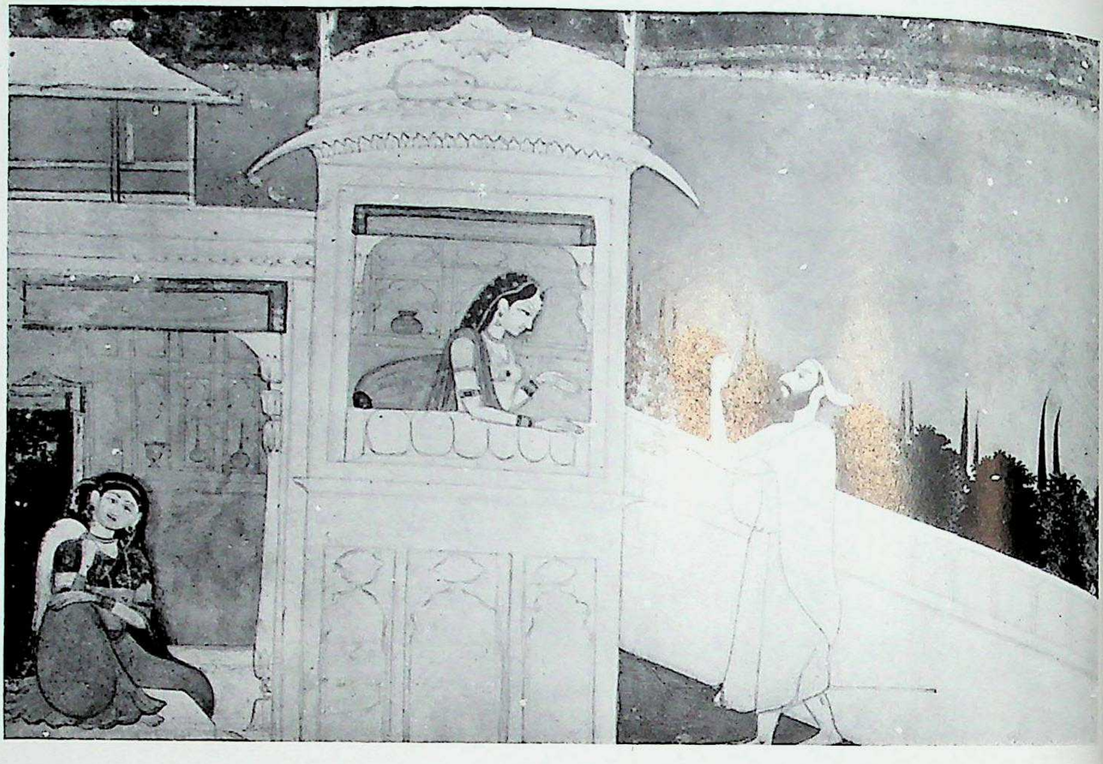
17. The Gods in Vishnu's Heaven. Guler, c. 1765.



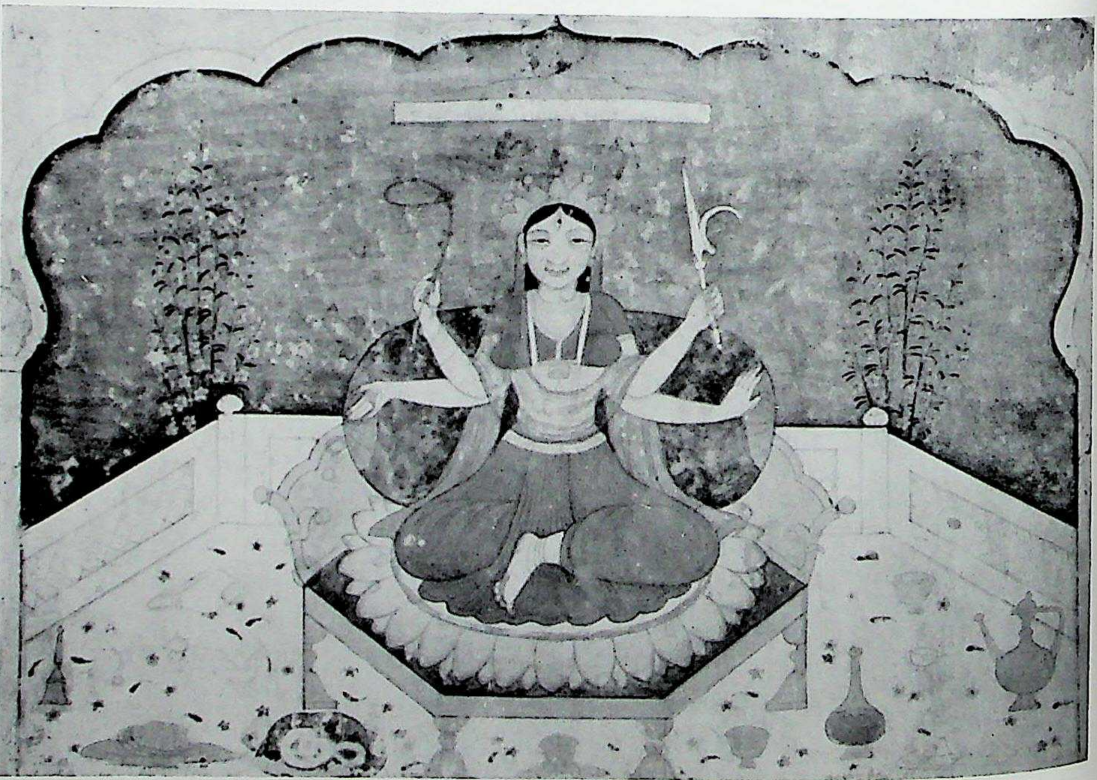
18. Krishna awaiting Radha. Guler, *c.* 1765.



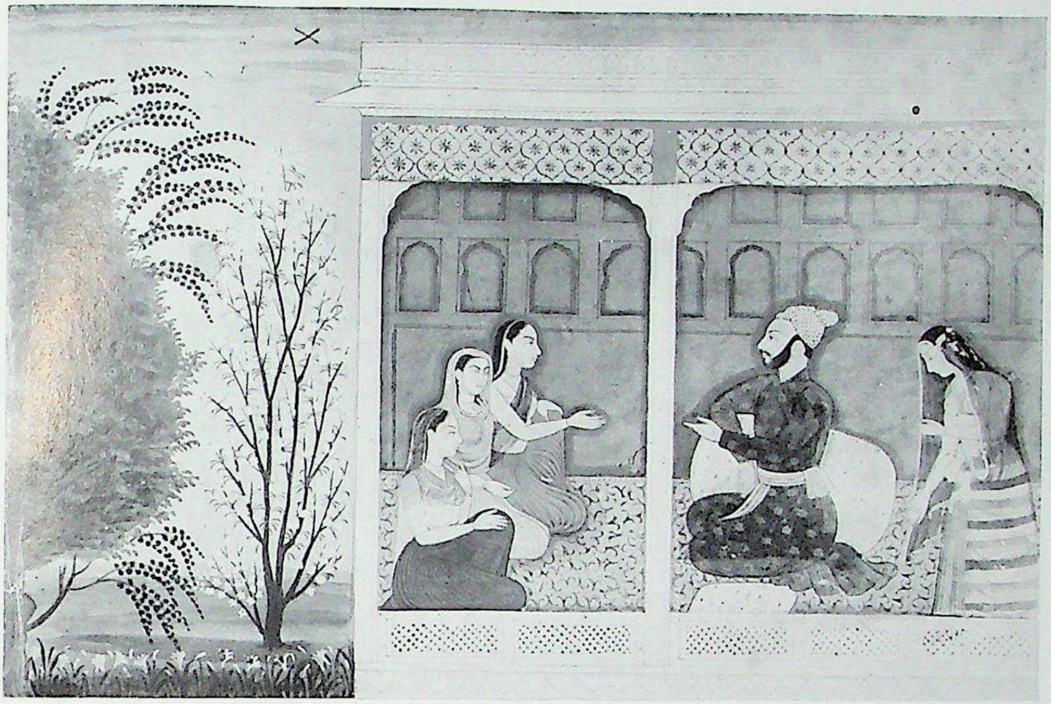
19. Radha and Krishna in a Garden-house. Guler, *c.* 1765.



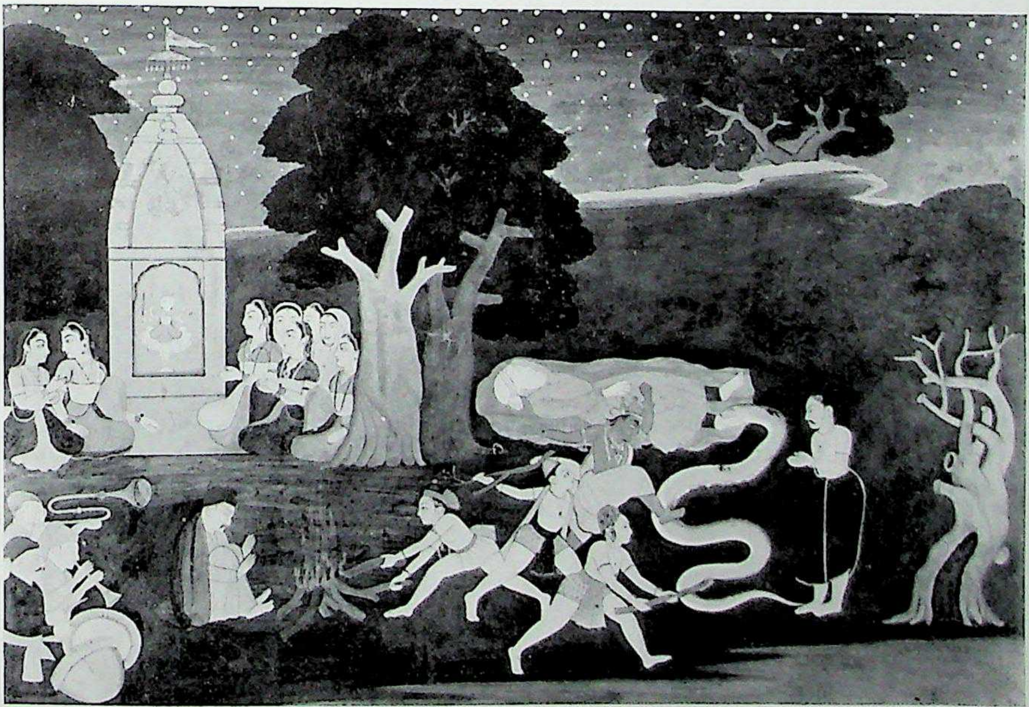
20. The Lady with the Messenger. Guler, *c.* 1765.



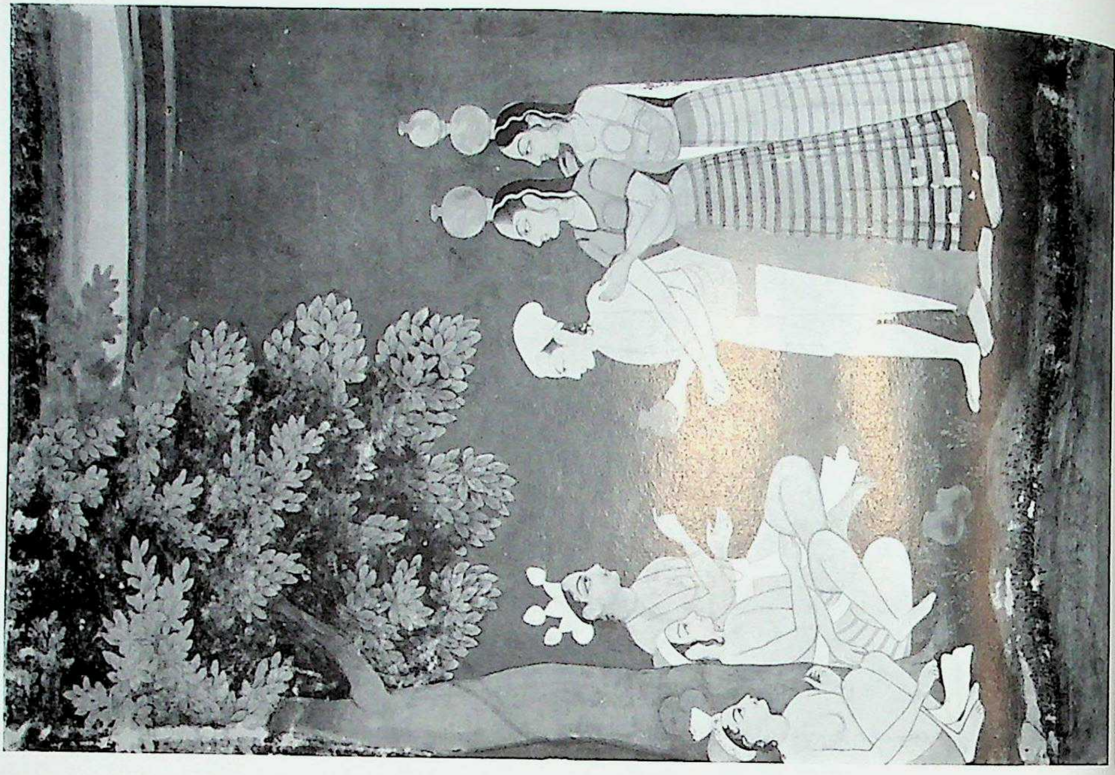
21. Chandi Devi. Guler, *c.* 1750.

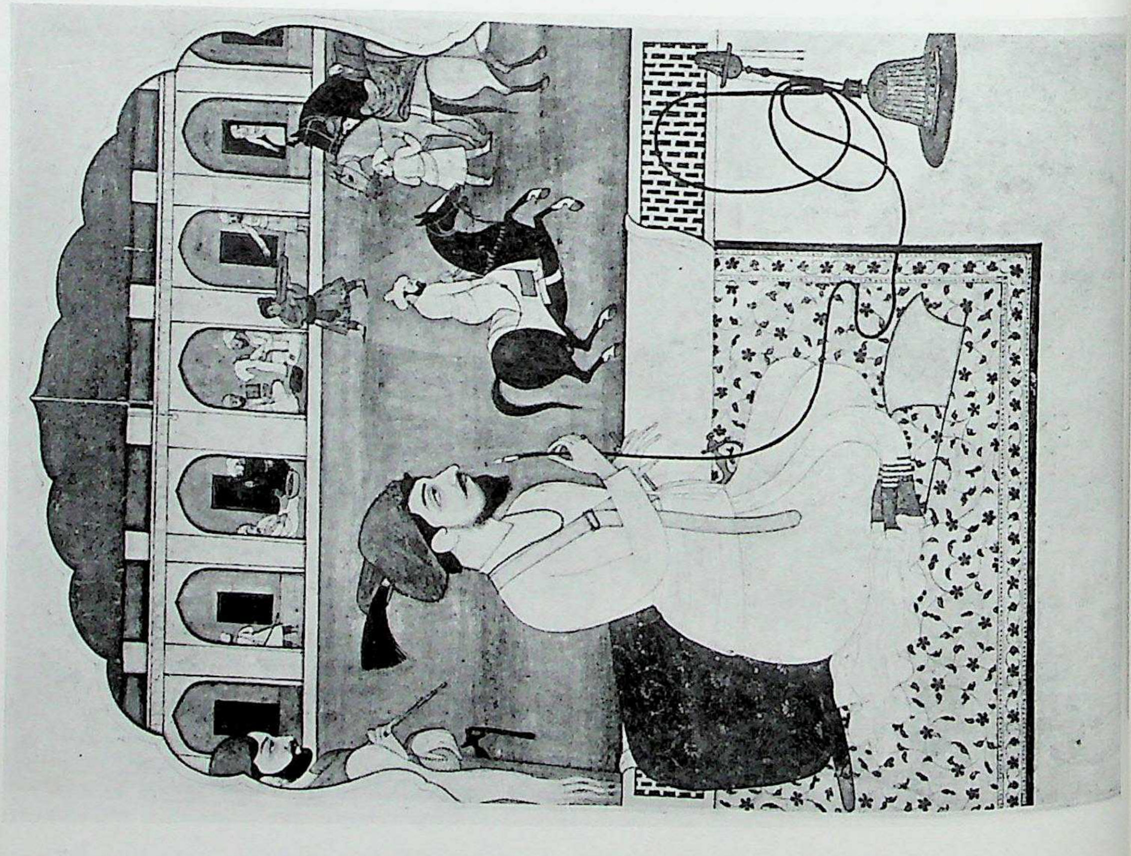


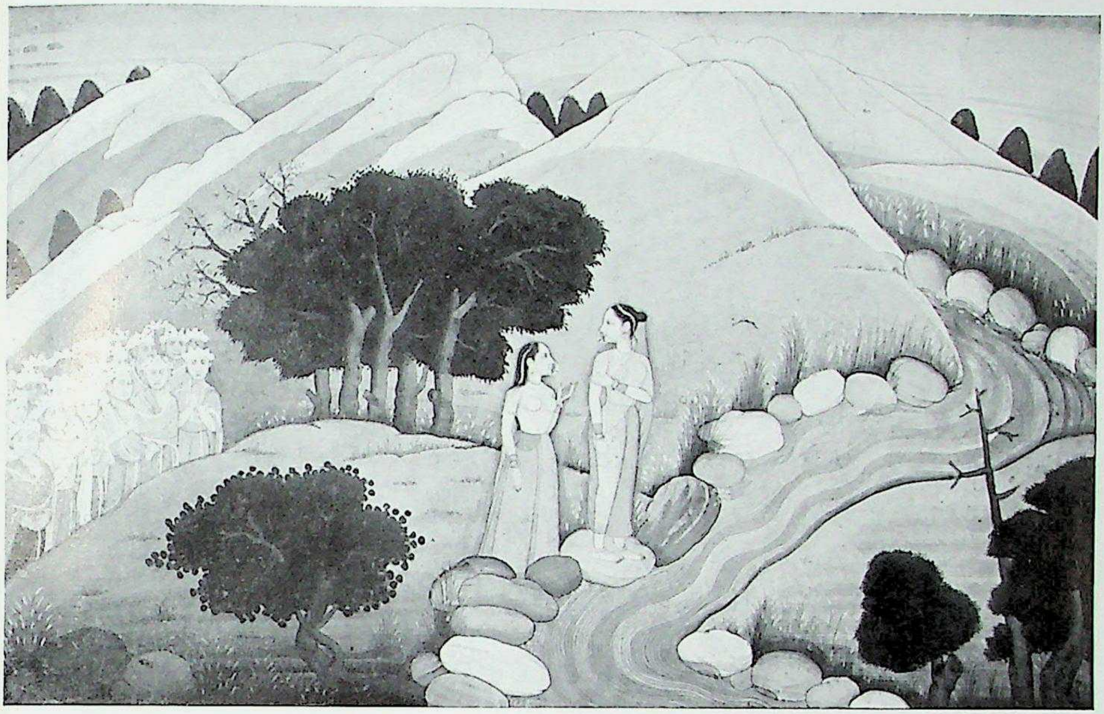
22. Raja Gobardhan Singh of Guler with Ladies. Guler, *c.* 1750.



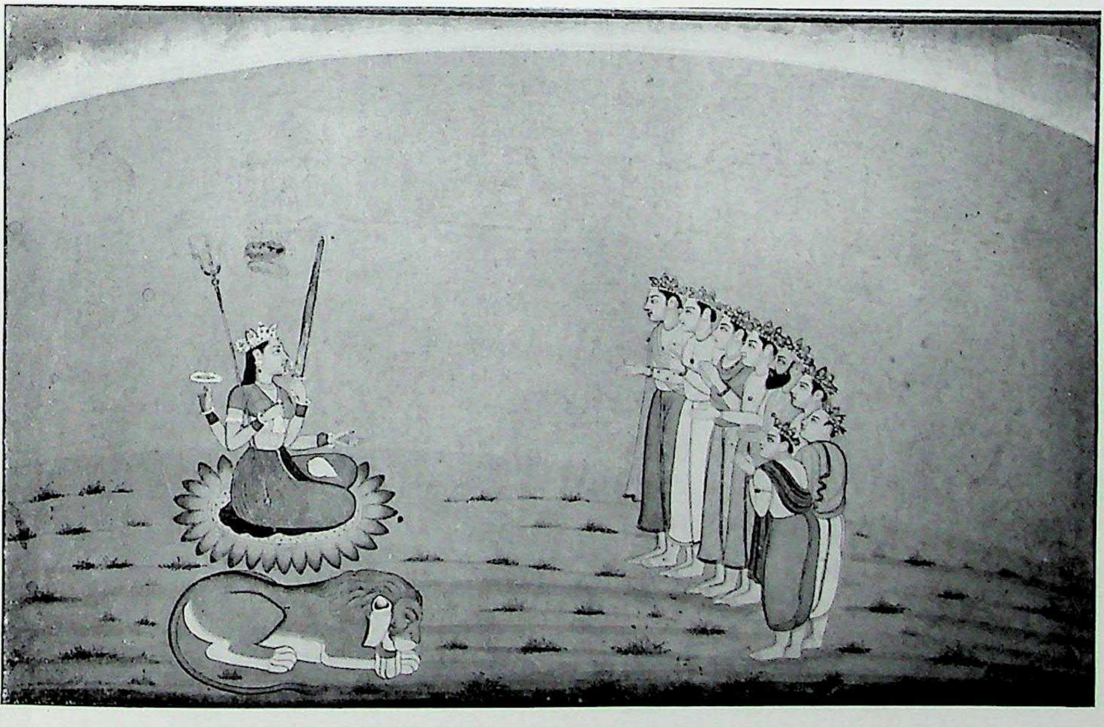
23. Krishna rescuing the sleeping Nanda. Guler, *c.* 1745.



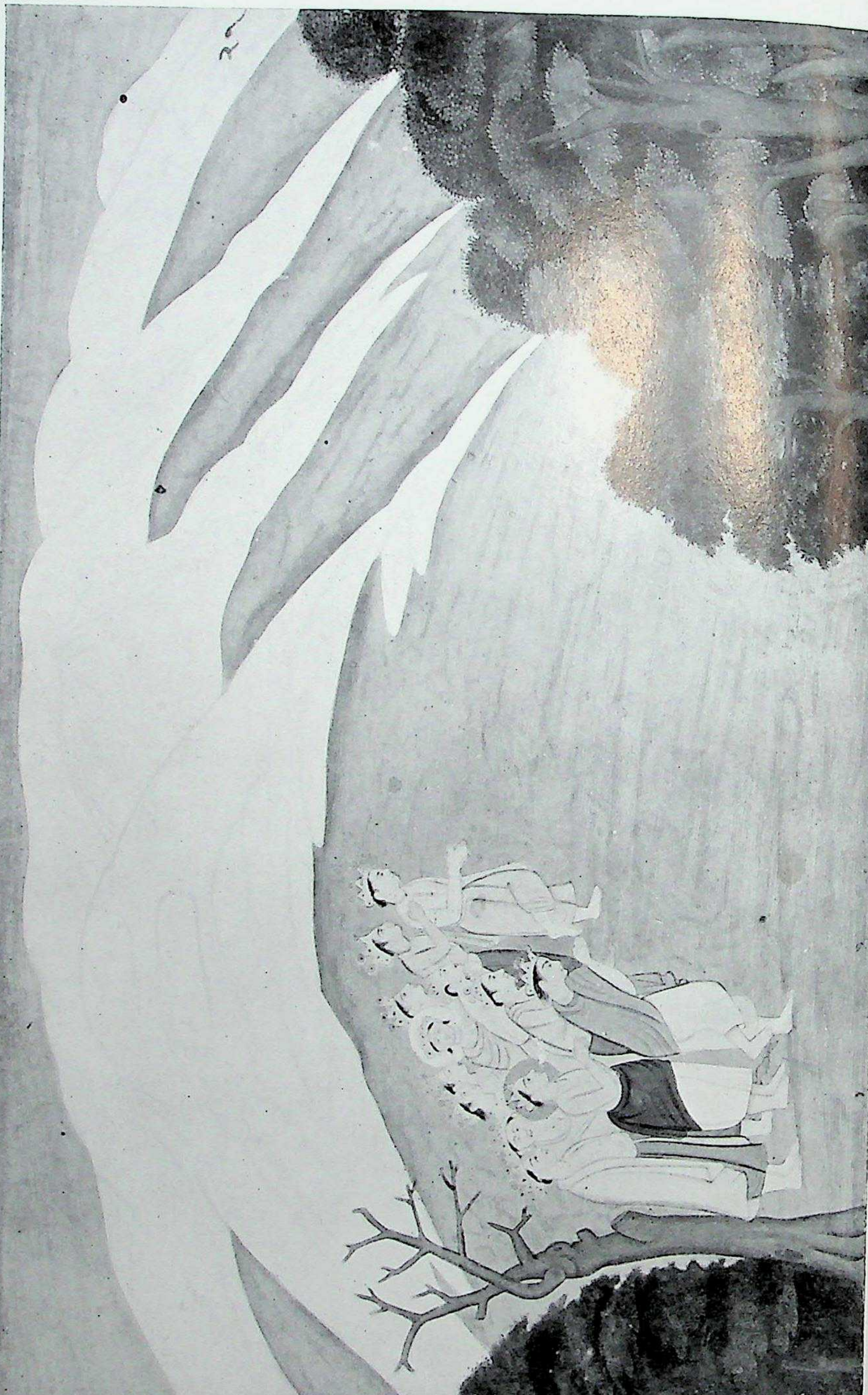




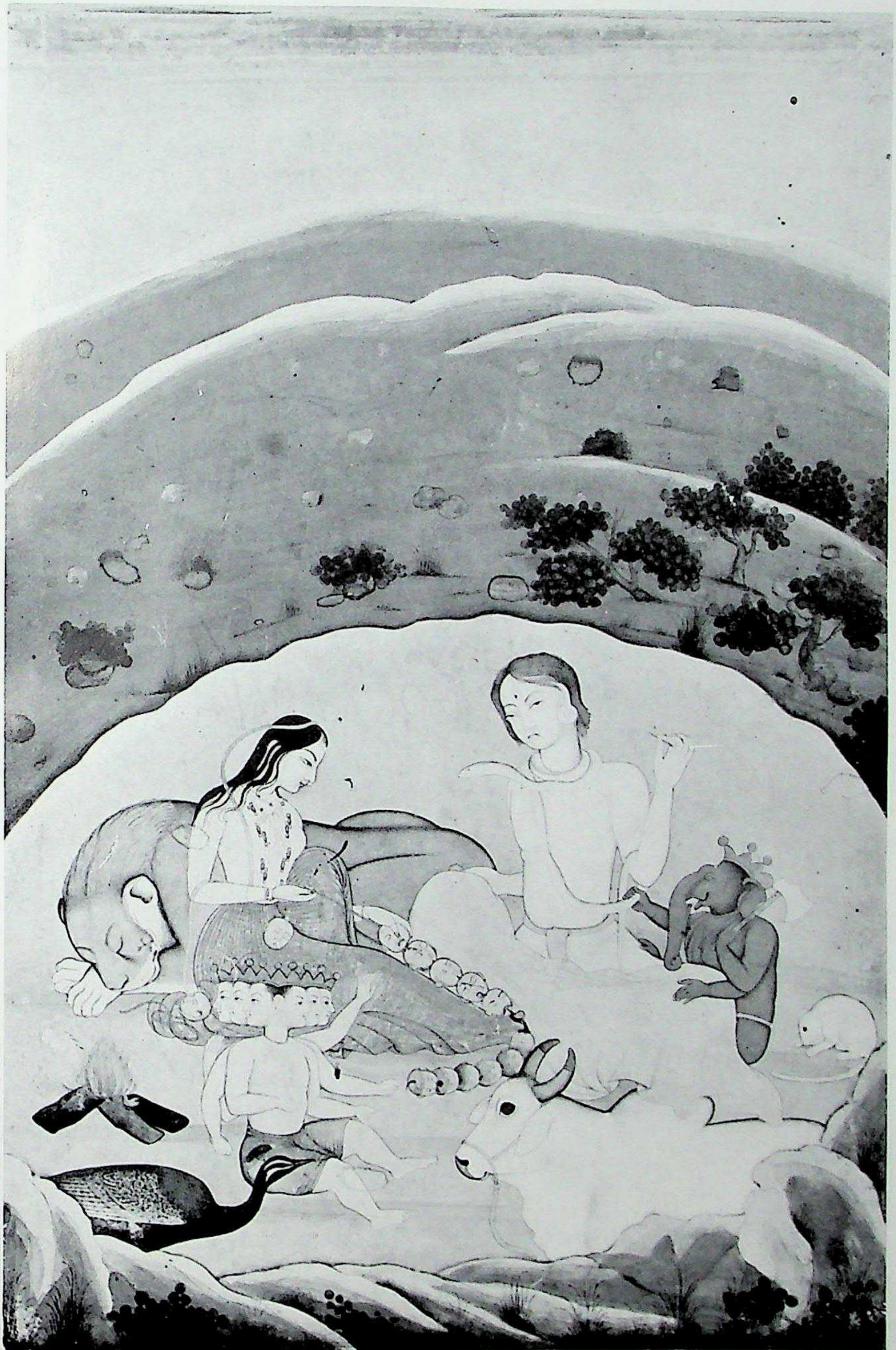
26. The Emergence of Kausiki. Guler, *c.* 1755.



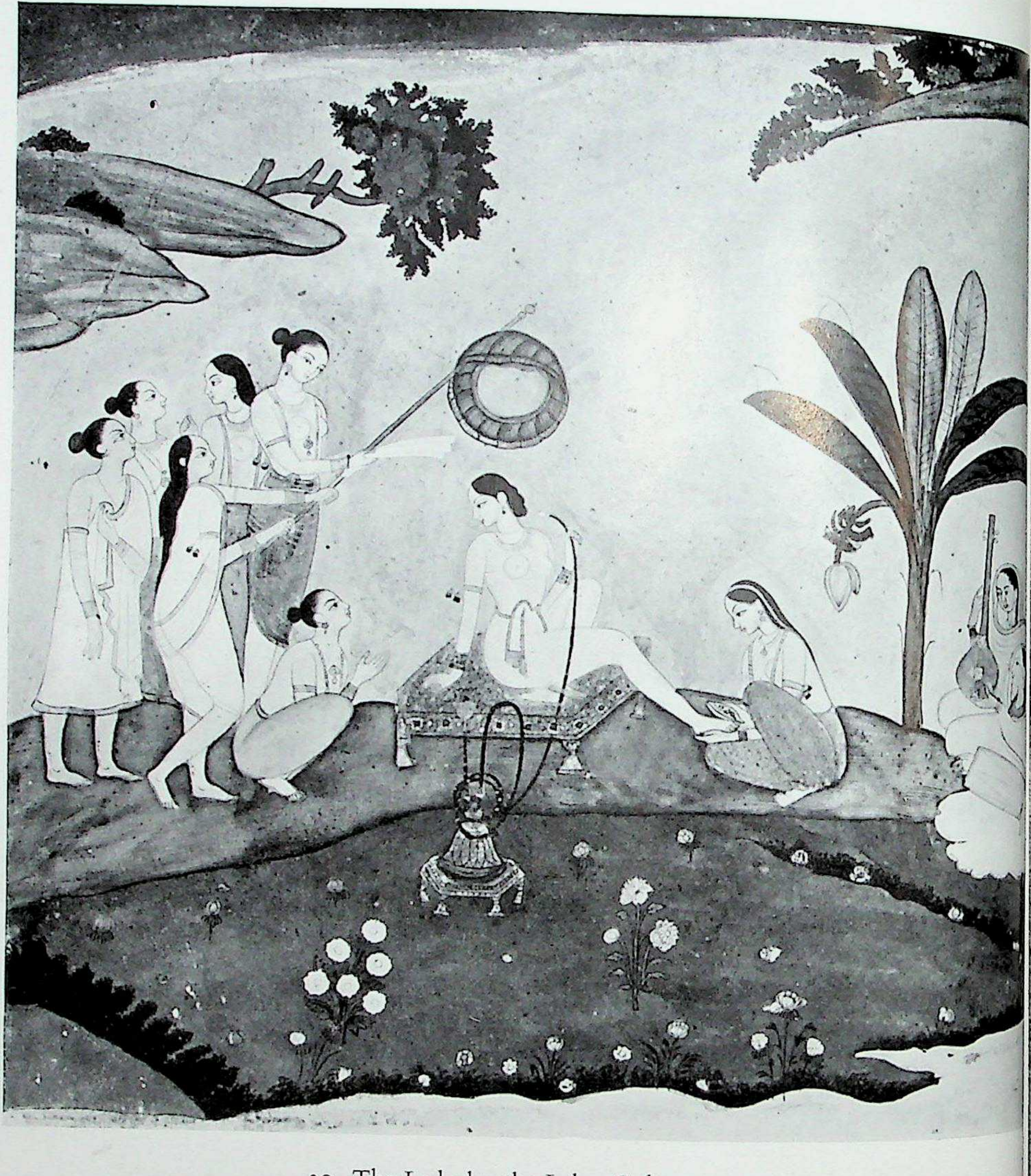
27. The Devas worshipping Durga. Guler, *c.* 1755.



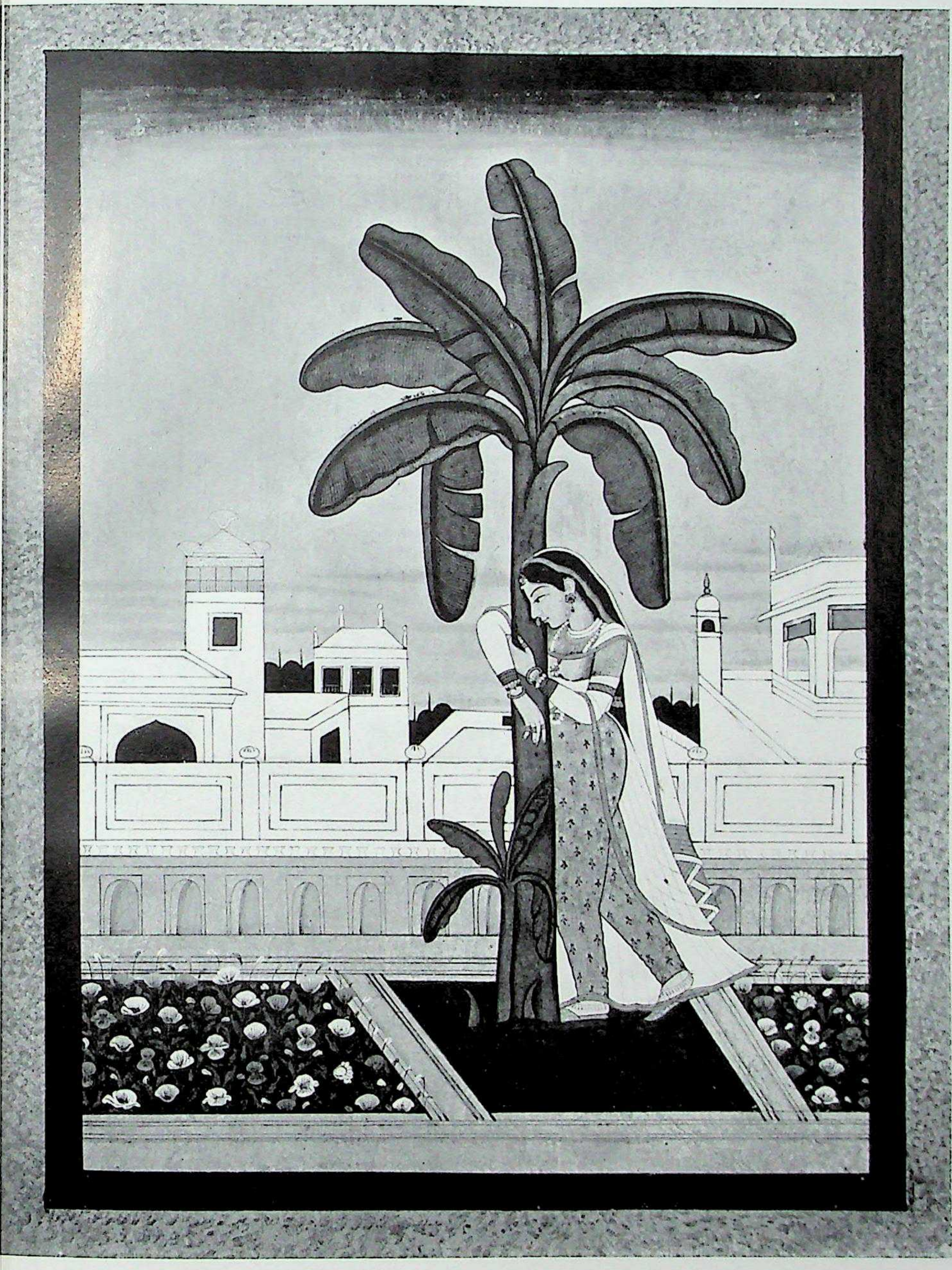
28. The Devas worshipping the absent Durga. Guler, *c.* 1750.



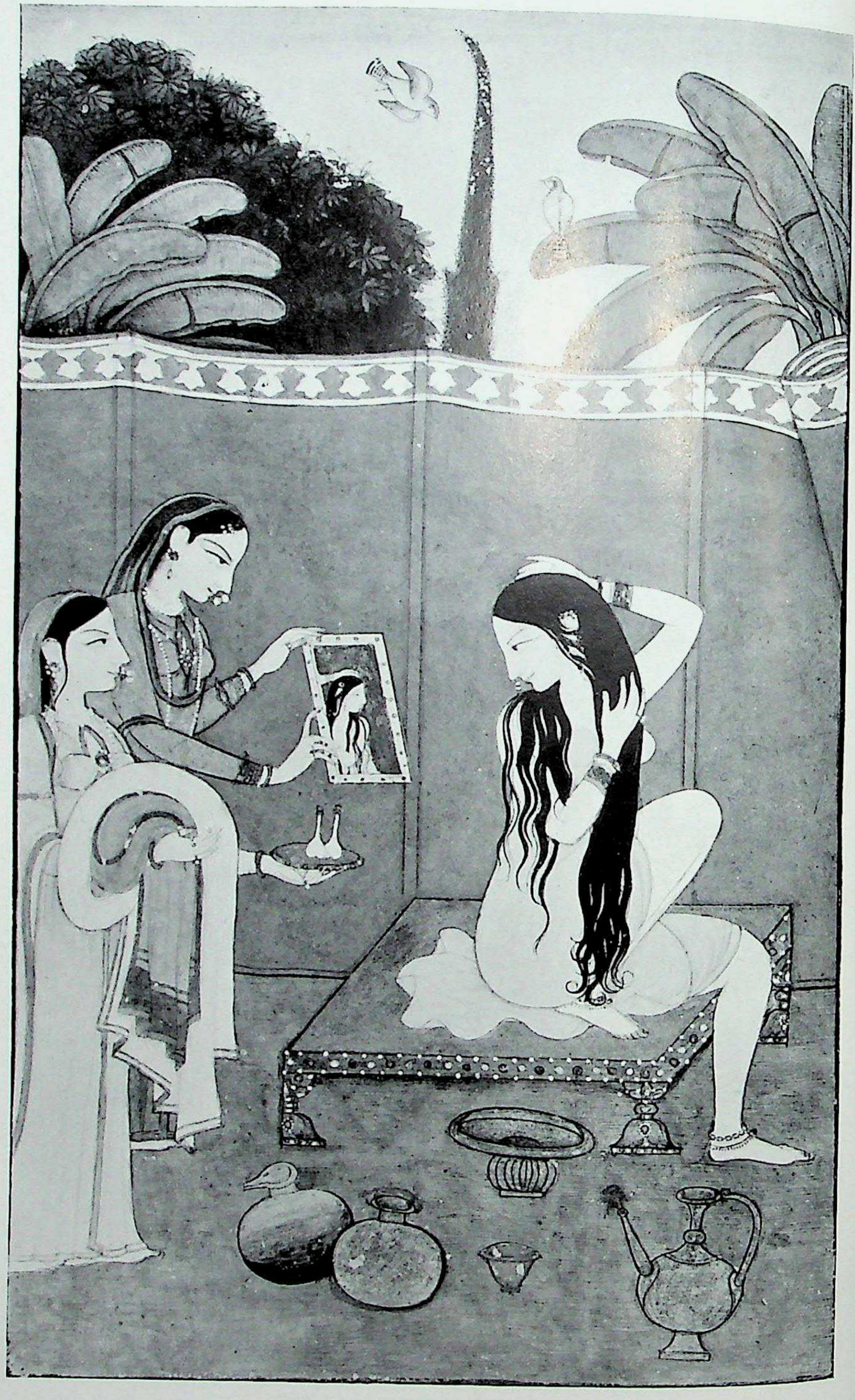
29. Siva and Parbati. Guler, *c.* 1755.



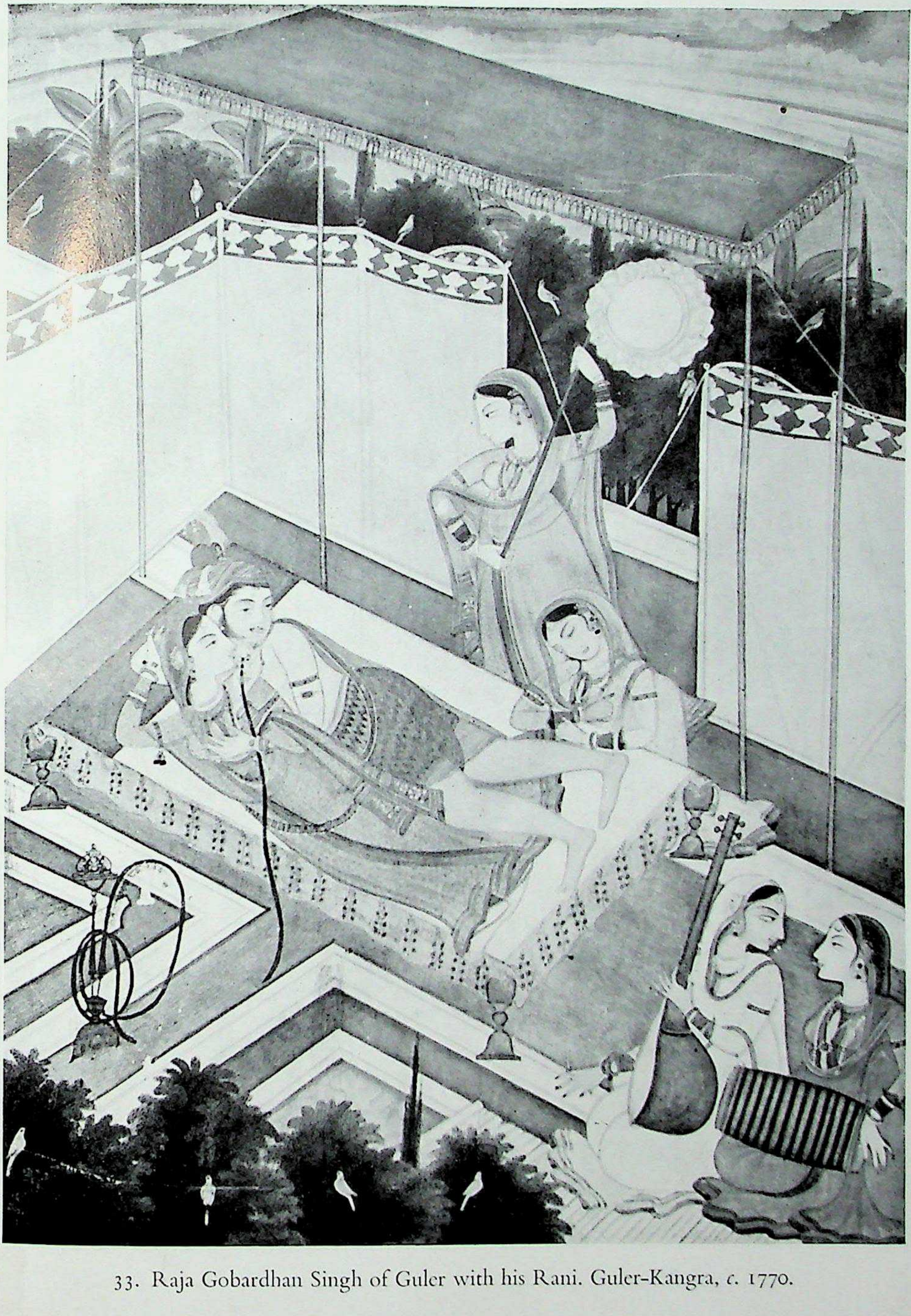
30. The Lady by the Lake. Guler, c. 1755.



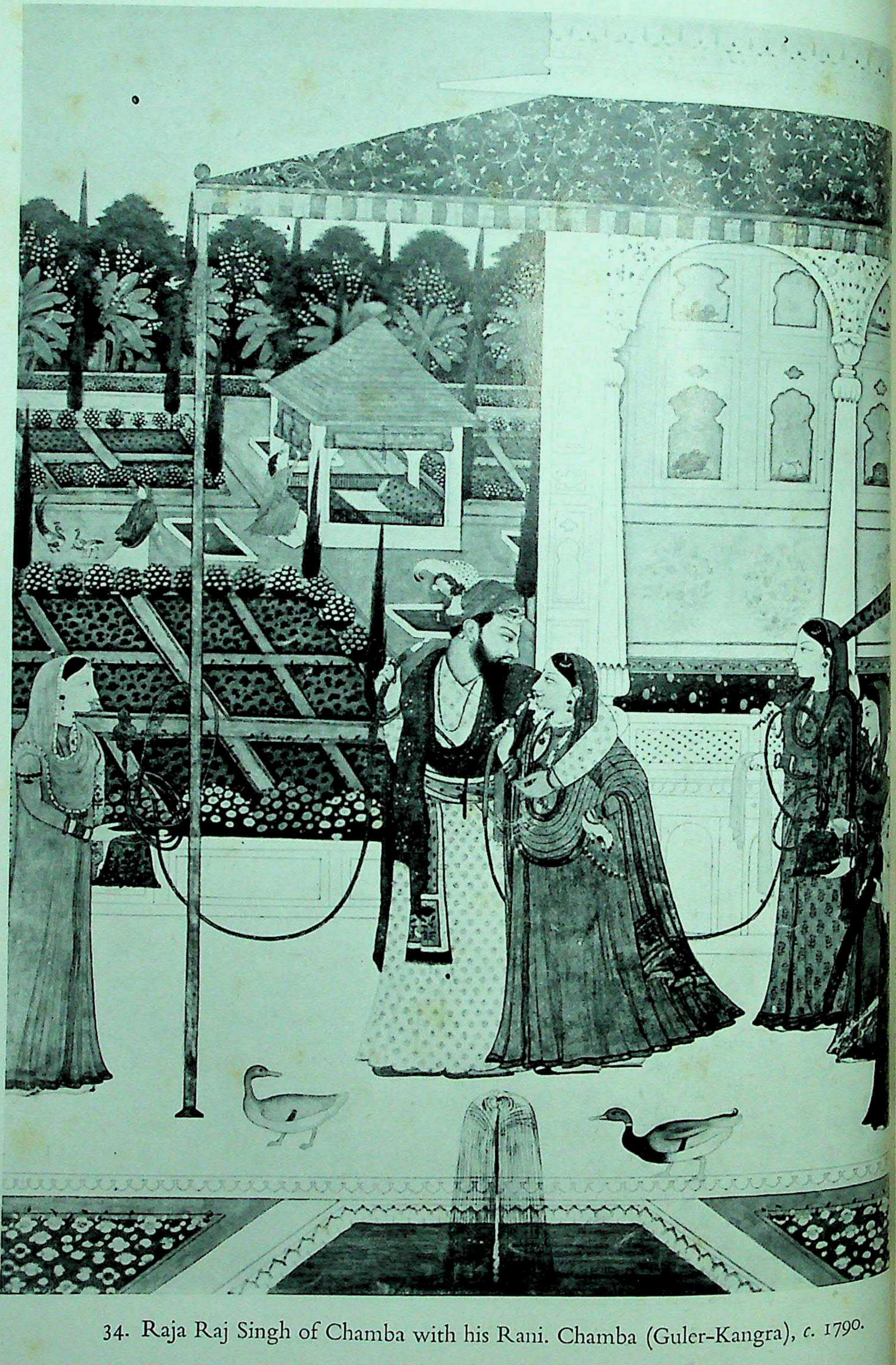
31. The Lady and the Plantain. Guler, *c.* 1765.



32. The Toilet. Guler-Kangra, *c.* 1770.



33. Raja Gobardhan Singh of Guler with his Rani. Guler-Kangra, *c.* 1770.



34. Raja Raj Singh of Chamba with his Rani. Chamba (Guler-Kangra), *c.* 1790.

man aged about thirty and, if we assume Prakash Singh to have been born about 1730, the date of the picture would be approximately 1760. In general style, it is clearly a development of the two preceding pictures and since it was obtained in Guler, there seems no reason for doubting that it is yet another example of local Guler art.

Of the four remaining pictures, three are connected in subject matter with the story of the goddess Durga.(10) Figure 21 shows her in the form of Chandi Devi seated on a terrace strewn with flowers and is very close in mood to that of Gobardhan Singh with his ladies (Fig. 22). Figure 27 depicts the Devas worshipping Durga who sits on a circle of lotuses and is accompanied by her lion. This picture is similar to the dated study of Gobardhan Singh—for the Devas are drawn with exactly the same fluent grace as the courtiers and musicians, while the earlier conventions of a flat background and a curving high horizon are also included. Figure 26 is also from the same set, but may have been painted a few years later. The Devas are once again depicted—this time as a host adoring from a distance while the central theme is the emergence of Kausiki from Kalika. The flat background has now been replaced by a landscape of gnarled trees, sharply rounded hills and curving streams, but the style is in other respects identical.

The last picture (Fig. 25) shows Krishna with two companions seated by a tree, while two milkmaids are led before him. The figures are once again drawn with fluid ease and the picture reveals its close affinity to the others by including exactly similar female types as those in Figures 22 and 26. Affinities in style would seem, therefore, to confirm the facts of provenance and we thus obtain important evidence for what is obviously a slightly later stage of the art. None of these pictures are dated but assuming the study of Gobardhan Singh and his ladies to be about 1750, we can possibly assign Figures 21 and 27 to the same year and Figures 25 and 26 to 1755.

We must now take stock of our position. If we are right in attributing these three sets to Guler, they evidently introduce us to the art at what are three distinct points. The first—the series illustrating the Ramayana—reveals a beginning in about the year 1720 when, starting as a possible offshoot from Basohli, a local style begins to be apparent. The second—the two portraits of Gobardhan Singh—is considerably more naturalistic and has obviously been influenced by a form of Mughal intrusion. The third—the five studies in the Central Museum, Lahore—displays an even smoother refinement and an even greater acclimatization of the Mughal technique. Yet the full Kangra style is still to be achieved and although there are obvious connections between the three stages, there are also equally obvious gaps. Before turning, therefore, to the years 1760–80—the period, when, if we are right, the 'Kangra' style was finally evolved—we must first examine whether other pictures can be found close enough in character to supplement these first three groups.

A picture which helps to link the first and second stages is a scene from the Mahabharata (Fig. 15) in the collection of Mr J. C. French. The painting is unfortunately much rubbed, but its colour and general composition are none the less quite clear. They show a chariot drawn by four horses arriving in a courtyard. The driver is clad in white flecked with gold and has turned his head as if awaiting instructions. The castle walls in sombre crimson rise above the chariot and we notice at once the employment of rigid angular lines to break the picture into various compartments. At the same time the battlements with their rounded parapets are identical with those in the *Ramayana* illustrations (Figs. 11–13), the niches in the palace walls have the same wavy contours, while the architecture with its curved projections is also markedly the same. Even more significant is the general background, for the sky is shown with the same curving rim, while against a flat wash of flaming red loom the black spires of three cypresses. Where the picture differs from the early series is in the absence of swirling profusion, yet in this respect it clearly foreshadows the portrait of Gobardhan Singh. There is the same feeling for geometric unity and angular space and the figures are also disposed in a single shallow plane. All the faces are in profile and the features are rendered with naturalistic care. We are faced, in fact, with a picture which is certainly not in any other known Pahari style and which has sufficient characteristics in common with our other pictures to suggest Guler as its origin. If this identification is correct the picture must obviously be midway between the *Ramayana* series and the portrait of Gobardhan Singh and as such have been painted in about 1730.

These same transitional qualities are reflected in a second study (Fig. 14) which illustrates the Unveiling of Draupadi. The picture bears obvious signs of being unfinished for the central characters are all unpainted while some of the assembled figures are unusually pallid. In fact, only the group of five Pandavas in the left foreground are in strong colours —dark pink, sunny yellow, sombre green and pale brown. This picture was first published by Coomaraswamy in *Rajput Painting* (II, pl. xxxvi) where it received the caption 'Pahari (early Kangra) late 17th to early 18th century' and was described in the text as 'a comparatively early work—perhaps about 1700—and in a style which I am a little inclined to associate with Mandi' (I, 21). There is no evidence however for this latter suggestion, whereas Dr Goetz who examined the picture in 1925, considered that it must come from 'the region of the Katoch Rajputs' (i.e. Kangra or Guler) and that it belonged to the period immediately preceding the reign of Sansar Chand (1775–1823).(11) Yet when we compare this picture with Figure 15, it is obvious that both are from the same school, for the assembled figures have precisely the same kind of features as the charioteer and the gods. Added to this is the same fondness for spacious white, while cypresses are yet again included among the surrounding trees. Two other details link the picture to the portrait of Gobardhan Singh (Fig. 16)—the circular grouping of the figures round the terrace and the use of the carpet to provide a central geometric pivot. Not only then is this picture a parallel to the *Arrival of the Chariot* but it obviously takes a similar place in the Guler tradition.(12)

We must now examine four pictures of a somewhat different type. Figure 23 is a scene from the *Bhagavata Purana* and shows Krishna and the cowherds rescuing the sleeping Nanda, while a group of women worship by a shrine to Chandi Devi. This picture is obviously very close to our third group, for not only are the figures depicted with the same rhythmical verve (as in Fig. 26), but the trees display the same gnarled and twisted shapes. But the features of the ladies, while closely similar to those in Figure 22, have a noticeable hardness that is even more reminiscent of Sita and her maids (Fig. 13). Moreover in yet another respect the picture suggests a different model. If we compare it with the dated portrait of Gobardhan Singh, we can hardly fail to be struck by the likeness of its three musicians to the five performers in Figure 16—a likeness which includes not only instruments and postures, but even the detailed disposition of the hands. Such affinities can hardly be accidental and if we are right in assigning the study of Gobardhan Singh and his ladies to about the year 1750, we must attribute this picture also to Guler and give it the slightly earlier date of 1745.

The remaining three pictures suggest a period five to ten years later. Figure 28 shows the Devas standing on an open hillside beseeching the absent Durga to intervene, while behind them rises a series of peaks, treated in a manner that is half-way between the summary convention of Figure 27 and the complicated structure of Figure 26. The high rim which indicates the horizon has been broken down, but the curving fangs which represent the hillside as well as the dome-like forms of the hills unmistakably suggest the simpler idiom.

A second picture, Figure 29, shows Siva and his consort, Parbati, with their children—the elephant-headed Ganesa and the many-headed Skanda—sitting on the open slopes of Mount Kailasa. Siva holds a needle while Parbati threads a necklace of human skulls. The convention of the curving rim is once again present, but the landscape is treated with a barer simplicity than in Figure 28, the rims have wavy undulations and the jagged fangs are fewer and more restrained. Indeed the general treatment provokes yet another comparison, for this is precisely the form taken by the hillsides in the earliest of our pictures, Figures 11 and 12.(13)

A final picture (Fig. 30) shows a lady smoking a hookah by a lake, while a bevy of maids minister to her requirements. She has dried herself after bathing, and is seated talking to a girl who crouches before her. The lady's body is bare save for a white cloth which swathes her thighs and the painting is remarkable for the suave and fluid line which defines her form. But these are only some of the characteristics which link it to our series. The broken curving rim reappears both in the wavy contours of the meadow and in the fang-like promontories which jut out into the lake. A jagged twisted tree leans outwards in the top left-hand corner and even the meadow is split up into broken compartments as is the hillside of Figure 29. The girl holding the fan is depicted in almost identically the same posture as the standing god (Fig. 28) while the hair of four maids is tied in the same neat ball as is that of Kausiki (Fig. 26). Such details unmistakably suggest a Guler provenance. At the same time, we meet an important new development—the symbolic use of colour. The red of the maid's *dhoti*, the scarlet centre of the green fan, hanging like a burning sun, the red flowers in the nearby meadow, and the hot red of the beating drum all these introduce us to a new type of painting—a picture concerned with the analysis and interpretation of love.

These further pictures make considerably clearer the development of Guler painting from 1720–55. We can see, for example, how even before 1743 the local style had developed definite characteristics and was already moving towards a suaver manner when

Mughal inoculation occurred. The exact source of this stimulus is obscure but about 1740 an artist who was highly skilled in the later Mughal technique was evidently working in Guler and had already evolved a 'Guler-Mughal' style. It is possible that this artist was not alone or if alone that he quickly attracted followers and pupils. But whatever their actual numbers, the new influences caused such a quickening in the general process of refinement that by 1755 the Guler style had achieved a new maturity of expression. If we compare Figures 26 and 29 with the early *Ramayanas*, we can see how the harsh angular features of the early period have now completely given way to delicately rounded forms and smooth serene faces and that the style has now become marked by a graceful ease and flowing rhythmical line. What is even more important, a change has taken place in the basic attitude, for it is now as if physical form has come to be appreciated for its own sake. The actual themes of the pictures are still connected either with the court or the great religious classics, but whenever the subject requires the depiction of ladies, they are now portrayed with a conscious delight in their fluid movements, their graceful limbs and exquisite flesh. Yet the interest is never wholly sensual, for the supple lines of their bodies are invariably subordinated to a general rhythm. We are faced, in fact, with a new kind of romantic naturalism—a kind in which rhythm of line enhances loveliness of physique, while naturalness of posture gives a freshness, certainty and spontaneity to the rhythm. Such qualities are identical with those of Kangra painting under Raja Sansar Chand (1775–1823) and were it not for some important differences of detail, the two schools would now be indistinguishable.

The differences, at this present stage, can be summarized as follows. There is, firstly, a clearly marked distinction between Guler features and 'Kangra', and although if we compare the faces depicted in our pictures, it is obvious that a process of evolution is at work, it has clearly not yet reached a point at which 'Kangra' and Guler blend. Secondly, as distinct from 'Kangra' painting, where both background and foreground conform to naturalistic standards, Guler pictures still retain, particularly in the backgrounds, a number of primitive conventions. Although the later pictures no longer invariably consist of a single flat plane, recessions are rarely very deep and the background is treated mainly as a setting for the foreground. Not uncommonly a flat plane appears almost as soon as the foreground has been passed. At the same time early colour combinations, such as red, white and sombre blue, persist, and trees and hillsides are also depicted in the early summary fashion. Between the primitive settings of Guler on the one hand and the naturalistic backgrounds of Kangra on the other, there is still in fact a considerable gap.

With the years 1755–75, this gap is closed. Yet when we seek to demonstrate the exact stages, we are faced with considerable difficulties. No paintings are forthcoming which we know for certain were produced in Guler during this period, no other pictures are dated and in fact we can only reconstruct the process by examining some further examples and considering their implications.

A first significant picture is *The Gods in Vishnu's Heaven* (Fig. 17).(14) This contains so many affinities with others of our pictures that it must now be accepted as a Guler product.

Not only are the gods identical in their features with the assembled figures in the *Unveiling of Draupadi*, but the composition employs such other typical Guler motifs as the wide-roofed pavilion (Fig. 14), the central carpet (Fig. 16) and the cypresses and plantains (Figs. 13, 15 and 30). Moreover, a Guler colour combination reappears in the sombre blue wash which serves as sky, the red of the lower roof and the dazzling white of the wall and courtyard. The picture, in fact, is almost certainly from Guler and the only problem is its date. We have already argued that the *Unveiling of Draupadi* and the *Arrival of the Chariot* must be dated at about 1730. The present picture, however, is considerably harsher in tone with louder colours and cruder, coarser drawing. As such it would seem to be considerably later. Moreover certain details already associate it with 'Kangra'. The decorations, in pale crimson, on the wall, and the style of the pavilion itself suggest the architectural background which was later to prove so common a feature in Kangra art. Finally the faces of the dancing girls and of Lakshmi, Vishnu's consort, all suggest that we are nearing 1765. Lakshmi herself is not unlike some of the maids in the *Lady by the Lake*, but the dancing girls and female musicians have the longer, slightly curved noses and the eloquent eyes of a fresh distinctive type.

It is precisely this type which reappears in *The Lady with the Hawk* (frontispiece). This picture must obviously have been painted about 1760–5 for in general composition it is closely in line with the portrait of Prakash Singh, which we have argued, should be dated about 1760. Indeed the device of half excluding the attendants from the picture and depicting their forms in a downward glancing pose gives the two pictures a striking likeness. But for other reasons also, the painting must be adjudged to be somewhat later than pictures such as *Siva and Parbati* (Fig. 29) or the *Emergence of Kausiki* (Fig. 26). Its theme and attitude illustrate a preoccupation with problems of romantic love which we have seen was already emerging in the period 1745–55, but which is now far franker and more deliberate. Primitive Guler idioms are introduced into the background as in the *Lady by the Lake*, but the intention is even more symbolical. We have already noticed how cypresses are a common motif in the *Ramayanas* and the *Unveiling of Draupadi* and how in the *Arrival of the Chariot* they are inserted against a flaming red ground. In the present picture, this early convention is once again employed but for poetic and emotional reasons. The cypresses are reduced to slim spear-like forms, while the background itself becomes a flat wash of Indian red. The cypresses reinforce the subject of the picture—a lady brooding on her absent lover—for their very shape hints at the nature of her sharp desires. At the same time the red background evokes all the ardour and passion implicit in the situation. Similar expressive imagery appears in the foreground where the open flowers are parallels for the girl's juvenescence and the hawk held tightly in her hand suggests the lover after his return. Yet while romantic considerations determine the imagery, the new attitude is even more apparent in the treatment of the lady—for all the resources of the Guler style are employed to suggest her delicate physique and superlatively lovely form. We have already, in fact moved much nearer to such typical Kangra paintings as the *Lady in the Palace* (Fig. 3) or the *Gathering Storm* (Fig. 1)—pictures which in the guise of ordinary domestic events express a complete preoccupation with romantic love.

A third picture retains this facial type but illustrates the myth of Krishna. In Figure 19, we see him standing with Radha in a tall pavilion while various maids are gathered below. The faces, both male and female, are almost identical with those in *Vishnu's Heaven* and to that extent the painting is in Guler style and still not Kangra. But the elaborate architecture and the delicate tree and sky again provide a naturalistic background, while the Radha-Krishna romance introduces a theme which was later to occur again and again in painting under Sansar Chand.(15)

Such pictures illustrate one kind of Guler invention. A second and different development appears in two pictures, also concerned with romantic passion. Figure 20 shows a lady listening to a messenger who has evidently come with news of her lover. The long wall slanting diagonally upwards suggests a type of composition favoured in early Guler art. The Guler colour combination accounts for the hot red background, the sombre blue sky and white pavilion, but what is even more significant—the cypresses are introduced exactly as in the *Lady with the Hawk*. Indeed the theme of the two pictures is virtually the same for the cypresses lining the wall, stabbing the red background with their vertical spears, hint at the same frustrated conditions. Yet the picture can hardly be earlier than the year 1765. The pavilion architecture is close to 'Kangra' and the lady's face with its squarer head and less pronounced nose is even nearer to the final Guler-Kangra form.

Another picture (Fig. 31) shows a similar lady clasping a plantain tree and gazing with longing at a bed of flowers. In her trousered posture, she resembles one of the dancing girls in *Vishnu's Heaven* while the flowers are painted in a manner that immediately suggests the *Lady with the Hawk*. The line of low arches and the further architecture recalls the background in the portrait of Raja Prakash Singh while the plantain is merely a large-scale version of a motif which from the early *Ramayanas* down to *Vishnu's Heaven* is a constant detail in Guler art. Yet in this picture also we are conscious that 'Kangra' is only round the corner. Although the architecture is shown in terms of rigid geometry, the early convention of a flat distorted setting has entirely disappeared. If the architecture is simplified, it is in order to emphasize the lonely empty scene and provide an appropriate symbolic background to the lady's mood. Similarly, the plantain which symbolizes the lover is depicted with the same approving naturalism which is lavished on the girl's form. The picture, in short, is already moving out of the former Guler tradition and again but for the distinctive face is almost entirely 'Kangra' in conception.

We come, finally, to two pictures, both in obviously 'Kangra' style yet with the closest affinity to the pictures we have just considered. The first (Fig. 32) is reproduced in colour in Gangoly's *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*(16) and shows a young princess completing her toilet. A maid holds out a mirror while another carries some clothes and hands her some bottles on a tray. The faces are all in 'Kangra' style, yet when we examine the picture in the light of both Figure 31 and the frontispiece, we are struck by some astonishing likenesses. The plantain looming above the cloth screen is identical with that in Figure 31. The clothes hanging on the servant's arm have the same languid coil as the kerchief in the

Lady with the Hawk. Once again, the true theme of the picture is 'the torment of love unsatisfied' and once again the shapes of ordinary objects are charged with symbolic ambiguity. The toilet bottles with their slender necks, the water ewer with its rigid spout, even the vertical poles of the cloth screen provide a symbolic background to the girl's thoughts while the empty mirror and the gaping pots—their mouths identical in shape with that of the *yoni*—reflect her wild desires. But even more remarkable is the picture's relationship to the *Lady with the Hawk*. The cypresses which through their black spear-like forms contributed an element of symbolic poetry to the former situation are no longer introduced schematically but with a careful realism, while the hot red background—itself a symbolic distortion—is naturalized as a scarlet screen. The symbolic purpose is constant: it is only the naturalistic treatment which is different. Such a picture is 'Kangra' in features but 'Guler' in imagery, idioms and colour.

The same contradiction arises but in an even more acute form when we consider Figure 33. This picture is painted with all the delicate accomplishment of the *Lady with the Hawk* and is virtually a companion to the last picture. Not only do plantains, cypresses and birds re-appear in similar roles but the profiles of the girls, the cloth screen and its patterning are identically the same. The features are once again 'Kangra' yet, on a cruder version of this picture inscribed by the dealer Radha Krishna Bharany, the subject is described as 'Raja Gobardhan Singh and his rani lying on a bed above a stream'.(17) The raja who is shown almost full-face is not, at first sight, very similar to the ruler portrayed in profile in Figures 16 and 22. If, however, the picture was painted in 1770 (and we have no evidence that the 'Kangra' face had developed earlier), and if, in fact, the subject is Gobardhan Singh, it must have been executed when he was approaching old age. In that case, the features might then be explained as a reconstruction, even an idealization, of the Raja as a young man. The theme itself—a Raja in intimate association with one of his ladies—does not seem to have been used in connection with any Kangra Raja and, in fact, the only parallel is that of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba (Fig. 34). So unusual, however, was this theme that Vogel in his *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba*, records it as 'a peculiarity of the Chamba portraits that the Raja is often portrayed in company with his Rani and heir-apparent, a homely feature which I have not noticed elsewhere'.(18) On grounds of theme, therefore, it does not seem likely that the picture was a product of Kangra proper and if this is so, we are left with only Chamba and Guler as possible alternatives. There is nothing in the picture, however, which specifically connects it with Chamba. On the other hand, the fact that Figure 32, the *Lady at her Toilet*, should parallel so closely the *Lady with the Hawk*—a picture which, for the reasons we have given, must be regarded as a product of Guler—while the subject of a picture in exactly similar style should be identified as Gobardhan Singh—a Guler raja—can hardly be coincidence. In these circumstances, we must surely accept these two pictures as, in fact, Guler products and as a consequence, regard the 'Kangra' type as a Guler invention, the last refinement of the Guler style.(19)

One further piece of evidence supports this conclusion. If we examine Figure 4 from what is perhaps the greatest of all Kangra creations, a series of illustrations to the *Bhagavata Purana*, we cannot fail to be struck by an important likeness. In this picture, the faces of the women are in plainly 'Kangra' style yet the painting itself—its general structure, its rhythmical naturalism, even its subject-matter—is obviously only a refinement and extension of Figure 23. This latter picture is as unmistakably 'Guler' as the former is 'Kangra'. Indeed, it is only in the greater degree of fluid naturalism and the even more lyrical quality of the rhythm that any major difference exists. Only one assumption can explain this relationship—the development of Kangra out of Guler.

We have now reached the position from which we started but a last problem still awaits solution. If 'Kangra' painting originated in Guler, why, then, did it shift from Guler to Kangra? To answer this question we must return to Raja Gobardhan Singh. From all that we have seen, it is obvious that this ruler was no ordinary lover of painting and while there is no reason to suppose that his son, Prakash Singh, was indifferent to pictures, we need not credit him with quite the same enthusiasms. It would certainly be strange if patronage on the scale accorded by Gobardhan Singh survived his death in 1773. On the other hand, the States of Chamba and Kangra were now growing in importance. In Chamba, Raja Raj Singh (1764–94) had succeeded to the throne when only nine years old, but by 1775 he had defeated a Jammu army and in 1782 had invaded and conquered Basohli. He followed up this success by invading in 1786 the State of Kashtwar.(20) Such triumphs must obviously have deeply impressed the other States and it would not be improbable if, drawn by his expanding power and influence, certain Guler artists migrated to Chamba, taking with them the Guler style.

Similarly, in the case of Kangra, Sansar Chand (1775–1823) quickly advertised his ambitions and certainly by 1786, the year when the great Kangra fort at last came into his possession, he had established a dazzling entourage and set up a brilliant and artistic court. Such a court must have served as a powerful magnet not only to professional entertainers but to nearby artists, and indeed the Punjab historian, Ghulam Muhai-ud-din remarks of Sansar Chand 'Crowds of people of skill and talent resorted to Kangra and gained happiness from his gifts and favours. Those addicted to pleasure, who live for the gratification of others, profited exceedingly by his liberality. Performers and story-tellers collected in such numbers and received such gifts and favours at his hand that he was regarded as the Hatim of that age and in generosity, the Rustam of the time'.(20) In such circumstances, it would be idle to look to Kangra itself for the embryonic stages of the style which under Sansar Chand achieved such lyrical charm. The very reverse would seem to be the case. It was because a style had already reached exquisite levels *outside* Kangra that its exponents were able to excite Sansar Chand's interest. Moreover, as we have already noted, it was to Guler that Kangra normally looked in matters of social priority. Nothing, therefore, would be more natural than that Sansar Chand should patronize its artists.

The importance of Guler to Pahari painting is that it provided an early clearing-house for idioms, a series of experiments and finally a succession of masterpieces out of which there developed the greatest style in all the Punjab Hills.

III. PAINTING IN JAMMU

If painting in Guler can only be reconstructed with difficulty, the art of Jammu one hundred miles to the north-west presents an even more complicated problem. Founded in the middle ages, Jammu had become by 1600 the largest State in all the northern Hills. During the eighteenth century, its ruler, Raja Dhrub Dev (1703–35) began a policy of expansion and this was so successfully continued by his successor, Raja Ranjit Dev (1735–81), that by 1750 the State was master of all the territory between the rivers Chenab and Ravi. Its influence extended over Kashtwar and Bhadrawah in the inner mountains and also included the States of Mankot, Bandhralta, Basohli and Jasrota in the East. In 1748 it showed its independence by collaborating with the Afghans and when in 1752, Mughal sovereignty in the Punjab finally collapsed, Ranjit Dev tendered the new regime a purely nominal allegiance. During this period, Jammu, the town, had greatly prospered and as a result of confusion in the Plains, not only Mughal refugees but wealthy merchants had found asylum there. Towards the end of his reign, Sikh incursions caused Ranjit Dev anxiety and tribute was even demanded and paid. His son, Brij Raj Dev, also revolted. Yet, in spite of these troubles, the supremacy of Jammu continued and it was only under his successor that its general influence began to wane.(1)

Such developments make it natural to suppose that during the eighteenth century, some form of painting existed at the Jammu court. The wide connections of the ruling family, its comparative luxury, its contacts with the Plains—all these, it would be thought, must inevitably create conditions so favourable to artists that even if local painters were not available, some at least would be attracted from outside. And this is in fact the view of the matter which seems to have impressed Coomaraswamy. Faced with pictures which were clearly not of Kangra origin, he conjectured that with Jammu so obviously the foremost power in the northern Hills, it must also be a correspondingly important centre of art.(2) Political importance, however, does not necessarily create a school of painting. Indeed the pursuit of feudal ambitions may easily have entirely opposite effects and when in 1939, Ajit Ghose published in *Rupam* his article, 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting', the acute difficulties in the way of associating any art with Jammu became apparent. Unlike Guler of which at least some pictures are of settled provenance, no pictures are definitely known to have been obtained in Jammu. No paintings which are connected with Jammu by written inscriptions have so far been published, while of all the pictures attributed to it by Coomaraswamy, the great majority are nowadays accepted as products of Basohli. For Jammu painting, in fact, 'keys to style' are still entirely wanting and it is only by taxing our ingenuity to the utmost that we can hope to rehabilitate it as a school of art.

The first pictures which we must examine for this purpose have one important point in common—a subject whose association with Jammu is incontestable. They consist of palace scenes and show the same figure engaged in various occupations. The first (Fig. 38) has an English inscription—'Raja Balwant Dev sitting at his palace and smoking'. Courtiers stand behind and the picture includes a horse which is being led before him. The second

(Fig. 39) which is clearly a portrait of the same prince shows him seated at his prayers, while a third (Fig. 36) portrays an artist giving him a picture. This latter picture has the words 'Raja Balwant Dev' written on its back. The fourth (Fig. 37) consists of two distinct sheets pasted together. On the left-hand side is a canopied throne on which the same Balwant Dev is seated, while the right-hand sheet shows a troupe of men and boys dancing and posturing before him. An inscription in English describes the subject as 'Rajah Buldev seated under a shamiana smoking, watching a Kathak dancing with a number of musicians behind'. All these pictures are in exactly the same style and the fact that none of them have vernacular inscriptions, taken with the artist's patent familiarity with the household, makes it obvious that all of them are the work of a palace painter. As to their subject we know that Balwant Dev (or Singh, as he was sometimes termed) was the fourth son of Raja Drub Dev (1703–35) of Jammu.(3) In these four pictures, therefore, we have immediate proof that for certain years of the eighteenth century, at least one type of painting existed in Jammu State.

This identification, vital as it is, could hardly be maintained, however, on the evidence of English inscriptions alone; but there exists a fifth painting (Fig. 35) which provides us with complete and striking confirmation. This picture is altogether exceptional for besides portraying the same Balwant Dev, it is remarkable in possessing a long Takri inscription.(4) This states that the picture was executed in 1748 (bikram samvat 1805) at the behest of a certain Umrao or nobleman, on the thirtieth day of the month of Jeth, when Mir Mannu came to Lahore having won victory over the Pathans in battle. It is clearly described as a portrait of 'Maharaja Sri Balwant Singh' and is stated to have been painted in three days by Nainsukh of Jasrota. The reference to a certain Umrao suggests that it was done for a visitor and this is perhaps the reason why a text is given. Since, however, this picture is in identically the same style as the four others, it is obvious that they also are by Nainsukh and although the latter was not a native of Jammu, it is he who was working as Balwant Singh's court artist.(5)

Such a group is obviously of great importance for identifying Jammu painting, the more so as we can fortunately add two further paintings to it. One of these (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 117 (621)), is a study of a group of trumpeters and is so exactly similar in treatment to the troupe of entertainers (Fig. 37) that it is almost certainly a study for one of Nainsukh's palace scenes. The other (Fig. 40) depicts a Hill ruler riding through open country on a hunting expedition. He is accompanied by dignified retainers while a lady and two musicians ride before him. This picture is also so close in its colour and general treatment to Figure 38 that it must obviously have been produced at about the same time. Not only do rich yellows, dark greens and browns, pale blues and mauves appear in identical shades but the horses are also treated with the same sensitive boldness. Moreover, the languid ease with which each figure is depicted and the vivacity of the minor characters give it obvious affinities with Figure 35. The subject of the picture is Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota and the fact that this is recorded in a Takri inscription raises a presumption that the picture was executed not for Mukand Dev but for another patron.

Such pictures with their quite distinctive idioms might be expected to lead us to a whole school of Jammu art. Yet when we scour the larger collections we are forced to the conclusion that just as suddenly as it seems to have started, this type of painting ended. No other Jammu pictures in related styles have so far been discovered. No Jammu offshoots are apparent and in order to obtain more evidence of Jammu painting, we are forced to make an entirely new beginning.

The picture which we must now consider (Fig. 44) shows a ruler seated on a *gaddi* while a servant stands behind him and a courtier kneels in front. The picture is inscribed in Takri, 'Mian Sri Brij Raj Dev' and since its subject was the eldest son of the Jammu Raja, Ranjit Dev, we are once again in the presence of a picture with definite Jammu connections. Yet subject matter alone would hardly be sufficient to make this picture a product of the State and it is only when we consider three separate circumstances that we can be reasonably sure that Jammu was its source. In the first place, the insertion in the text of the highly respectful 'Sri' is exactly what we would expect in a Jammu picture of a Jammu raja and the exact opposite of what would be usual had it been executed outside the Jammu State. Secondly the attendant, the kneeling courtier and Brij Raj Dev himself all effect the long stately dress which characterizes so many figures in the work of Nainsukh. Thirdly, the style is so distinct from other schools of Pahari painting and in particular from those of Kangra, Guler and Basohli that on purely negative grounds, Jammu seems a highly possible source. Yet although its date must probably be about 1770, judging by the apparent age of the Raja,(6) the picture is in a markedly different style from that of Nainsukh. In certain respects, such as its sinuous line, the grave arrangement of the forms and the sense of airy clarity, it is subtly reminiscent of his work and if it is, in fact, a product of Jammu art, it would hardly be surprising if the artist had inspected actual examples of Nainsukh's work. Yet in other major ways, the style is entirely different. The complex structure of Figures 35, 36 and 38 with their deep recessions has given place to a simple flat background of three austere rectangles. The groups of animated attendants have shrunk to two statuesque figures. The warm colouring of Figures 35 and 40 has changed to a delicate anaemic pallor. The background is a pale grey, a white and a greyish pink, while Brij Raj Dev is depicted in a pallid yellow dress on an ashen white ground. Above all the precise and nervous line which frames the forms is now intended more for abstract rhythmical effects than for endowing the characters with liveliness and vitality. The result, therefore, is the creation of a strangely placid pallor and the evocation of a chill anaemic peace. The picture in fact seems unmistakably from Jammu but at the same time, entirely different from the style of painting which we had originally connected with the State.

Strange as this development is, however, it has even stranger repercussions, for using this last example as a guide to style we are led to re-examine a well-known picture in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection. The picture (Fig. 43) shows a raja examining the points of a horse by torchlight and as a work of art it is obviously a very considerable achievement. Yet what is remarkable is the fact that in spite of its arresting unity and assured composition it is actually not one but two distinct paintings. The picture is divided in the middle by a thin dark line and as we closely examine it we find that this line is the edge of a sheet of paper and that the right-hand half has been painted on one sheet and the left-hand half on another. What is more the two halves are not merely on different pieces of paper but have obviously been executed quite independently of each other. We can infer this partly from the entirely different shades of blue which form the sky, partly from the differences in size—for the raja is on an altogether more ample scale than the grooms and servants who display the horse; partly from differences in the state of preservation—for the left-hand half has been folded whereas the right-hand half is quite undamaged—but even more strikingly from the marked differences in style. The left-hand side is painted in white and in a delicate azure blue. It has the same cold pallor, the same lack of animation, as well as the same rhythmical line as Figure 44. In fact so nearly alike are the two pictures that although the bold Takri text(7) which runs across the top with an insolent flamboyant swagger does not mention its subject's name, the picture must obviously be the product of a similar studio. The right-hand side, on the other hand, is unmistakably the work of Nainsukh. The horse is portrayed in the same manner as in Figures 38 and 40. The servants are disposed with Nainsukh's characteristic verve, while even their features can be matched in Figures 35 and 40. Finally, if the picture is carefully examined, the way in which these two quite different halves have been combined becomes apparent. In the left-hand side containing the ruler, the balustrade seems first to have been continued across the whole picture. We know this from the fact that not only are there traces of white beneath the blue where it breaks into the terrace but a white knob similar to those remaining on the balustrade is discernible at the far edge of the paper. In the side containing the horse, overpainting is not as clearly visible but the fact that some adjustment has taken place can be inferred from the undue cramping of shapes in the bottom left-hand corner as well as from the unnatural concealment of the servant's legs. It is obvious therefore that neither of the two halves was originally painted in relation to the other. We have noticed however that Nainsukh sometimes used two sheets of paper for one picture. It would seem therefore that the right-hand half is one of his studies which, having for some reason become separated from the part for which it was intended, has subsequently been grafted on to another picture. The means by which this has been done is the addition of a piece of terrace to Nainsukh's picture and the alteration of the sky and balustrade in the portrait of the Raja.

Such a grafting of pictures would in any circumstances be remarkable, the more so since the result is so triumphant a success. But for our immediate purposes, the fact is of quite extraordinary importance. We have seen that in the series of pictures associated with Nainsukh, the main circumstance connecting them with Jammu is the central figure of Balwant Singh, a member of the Jammu royal house. We have also seen that the main reasons for connecting with Jammu the entirely different style displayed in Figure 44 are its subject, the Jammu princeling, Mian Brij Raj Dev, and the respectful way in which he is referred to in the text. Such circumstances, however, are hardly sufficient in themselves for finally proving an origin in Jammu. The presence of two distinct styles in one picture, however, must surely resolve all doubts for only if the two pictures were produced in the same place would their mysterious conjunction be feasible, only if there were some subtle affinity between the two forms of expression could two such pictures be matched, while of all the different States where pictures were being made at this time, it is only Jammu which seems in any way connected with both these types of art. We can, therefore, assume not only that the Balwant Singh series is indeed a product of Jammu painting but that the study of Brij Raj Dev and the portrait of the Raja (Fig. 43) are also expressions of this identical local school.

Such a conclusion is obviously of great importance and as a first result, we can at once associate with Jammu another group of three distinct portraits. The pictures, in question, are clearly parts of a single series for all are mounted on the same shade of brownish yellow paper and all have Takri texts providing the same kind of standard information. The first (Fig. 45) depicts a ruler kneeling in the same posture as the courtier in Figure 44. The terrace has the same pattern as in the *Raja with the Horse* while the background is a flat greyish black, flecked with tangled clouds. The figure is clad in a green dress—in the same fashion as in the Balwant Singh series—but the treatment is more rounded and the face, armpits and clothes are shaded. The inscription describes the figure as 'Mian Tedhi Mighalau Bhotia'. In the second portrait (Fig. 46), the same terrace and balustrade appear. Shading is less pronounced, while the sky consists of a flat grey merging in a blue which closely resembles the background of Figure 43. The picture is described as a portrait of 'Mian Kailasvati Bandral' and is comparable to the study of 'Raja Hataf Bandral' illustrated in Coomaraswamy's Boston Catalogue (V, 235). The third (Fig. 48) dispenses with a terrace and shows a ruler holding a hawk in a gloved hand. The drapery is transparent and although the red shoes and green sward add a touch of warmth, the note of pallor is maintained in the anaemic veridian-green background and the strip of azure sky, broken by a crescent moon and stars. In this latter idiom, the picture echoes the pallid stars and chilly moon which appear in the *Raja with the Horse*. In this portrait, the features strikingly resemble some we have already met. (Fig 40) and we are therefore, hardly surprised when we read from the inscription that this is once again 'Mian Mukand Dev Jasrotia'.

The presence of these three examples of Hill nobility in a single related set can hardly be coincidence for, as we consider their respective identities, it becomes clear that all are either noblemen or rulers from States in close proximity to Jammu. Bhoti was barely fifteen miles away, Bandhralta only twenty while the farthest, Jasrota, was thirty-five. All three States were under Ranjit Dev's 'protection' and we can readily assume that members of their ruling families were visitors to his court. It is certainly only a connection with Jammu which provides these different subjects with a link and when we recall their manifest resemblances to the *Raja with the Horse*, we can have little doubt that in these three pictures we possess authentic examples of Jammu art.

But if ties of history coupled with stylistic likeness compel us to associate such portraits with Jammu, exactly similar considerations take us to a picture which reveals the Jammu style at a considerably earlier stage of its development. The painting (Fig. 54) shows a raja smoking a hookah while two ladies supply him with betel. The ladies are dressed in dull reds and blues while the raja wears a sage-green dress specked with small sprigs. The painting has obvious resemblances to Figure 44 for it employs the same convention of a flat plane as in Brij Raj Dev's portrait while the terrace and background are reduced to the same rectangular compartments. The colours are, in the main, warmer and stronger but two of the rectangles are filled with the same flat white and cold anaemic grey. The picture is inscribed on the front in Takri 'Raja Ugar Singh Chambawal' and this is repeated in English on the back. This identification is quite exceptionally important for prior to ruling in Chamba from 1720 to 1735, Ugar Singh had spent many years in exile in Jammu, serving incognito in the Jammu army. A chance act of bravery led to his discovery and when the Chamba raja, Udai Singh, died in 1720, Raja Dhrub Dev of Jammu came actively to his help and provided him with the necessary forces for seizing the throne.(8) Ugar Singh's connection with Jammu, therefore, was quite remarkably close and, as a consequence, nothing would be more likely than that he should appear in a picture which, in general style, so strongly suggests the Jammu manner. It is, at any rate, quite improbable that the picture was produced at Chamba since the inscription, by including the suffix 'Chambawal', treats him as an evident outsider. Jammu would thus appear to be its only likely source and if we bear in mind the raja's white hair, we can almost certainly accept it as an example of Jammu painting in about the year 1730, five years previous to his death.

Such a picture has many uses for not only does it provide us with evidence of early Jammu painting but, what is more important, it opens the way to even further identifications. It now seems clear, for example, that two further pictures in the Victoria and Albert Museum must also belong to the Jammu school. The first (Fig. 51) shows a Hill noble surrounded by four children and attended by a pair of stately servants. The structure follows the same principles as in Figures 44 and 54. The central figure is posed against a cushion in a manner which parallels both Ugar Singh and the Raja with the horse. The carpet consists of the same rectangular bands arranged in parallel strips as in Figure 54 while the servants are closely similar in costume and pose to those in Figures 36, 38 and 44. As in the portrait of Brij Raj Dev, there is a general predilection for white—particularly in the dresses of the figures—but the pale green background and the pink carpet, with its chocolate brown stripes, gives the picture a slightly greater warmth. A final detail serves to link the painting even more closely with Figures 44 and 54. The cushion is painted a deep golden yellow and it is precisely this colour which appears in the ribbons which bind the turbans both of Ugar Singh and the kneeling courtier in the portrait of Brij Raj Dev. So similar a palette can hardly be accidental and when we recall all the other points of likeness, there can be little doubt that the work was done at Jammu. The picture is inscribed on the back in Persian 'Bahadur Singh and his sons' while on the painting itself the names of three children are given in Hindi characters—'Mian Jai Singh, Mian Naro Singh and Mian Laku Singh'.

The second picture (Fig. 49) shows a ruler surrounded by courtiers and being entertained by dancing girls. The technique is generally cruder than in Figures 44, 51 and 54 and the picture as a whole is altogether wanting in rhythmical organization. None the less, its general affinities with Jammu pictures are so close that it can hardly belong to any other school. The central figure, in particular, approximates so closely to Brij Raj Dev that the painting may even be a crude and coarse study of this Jammu ruler. Once again, the picture is treated as a single flat plane. The carpet is a pale whitish pink, banded with thin blue lines. The wall is the same pale grey as in Figure 44 while the tone of chilly pallor is unmistakably present in the pale mud-coloured arches and in the bleached thatch of the roof. If the portrait of Brij Raj Dev was executed in about 1770, this present picture might well be an example of Jammu art five or ten years later.

But besides foreshadowing the austere geometry which is so marked a feature of Figure 44, the portrait of Ugar Singh offers a key to yet another side of Jammu painting. We have noticed how, in this picture, two ladies are shown presenting Ugar Singh with betel. The female type which is thus disclosed is quite distinct from Basohli, Guler or Kangra. It is characterized by the wide serene eyes, the exposed ear, the jewel-bespangled forehead and the gold edging to the sari besides a general presence which gives the figures a quite distinctive aspect. Certainly no one looking at these forms could mistake them for any other school and their presence in pictures along with details inseparable from Jammu enables us to bring them into line with other works in this same Jammu tradition.

One of these pictures (Fig. 55) shows a lady in distress attended by two maids who are striving to console her. Behind the party rises a curving pond where egrets strut amid the lotuses. The lady who has decked herself in anticipation of her lover's coming is gazing at the vacant scene and is about to cast away a string of pearls. The picture which portrays a common situation taken from romantic poetry employs precisely the same idioms for the ladies as are used in the portrait of Ugar Singh. The faces and costumes of all three women are identical with those in Figure 54 while the dress of the maid on the right is painted in exactly the same red and blue which appears in Ugar Singh's attendants. But these are not the only likenesses for other idioms also relate this work to Jammu. The cushion which supports the central lady is in the same glossy grey and is marked by the same kind of sprigs as is the cushion in Figure 54, while the rich golden yellow which characterizes the pillow in Figure 51 and the turban ribbons in the portrait of Ugar Singh occurs in the trouser leg which clothes her right thigh. A rigid geometry appears in the angles of the architecture and in the simple sweeping curves which symbolize the landscape. Finally, the dim yellow of the background, the pale mauve of the vina-player's skirt and the flat grey of the wall and lake invest the picture with the same air of chilly pallor. The painting, in fact, combines the idioms of both the early and the later paintings and suggests the kind of art which may well have developed during the period 1750 to 1760.

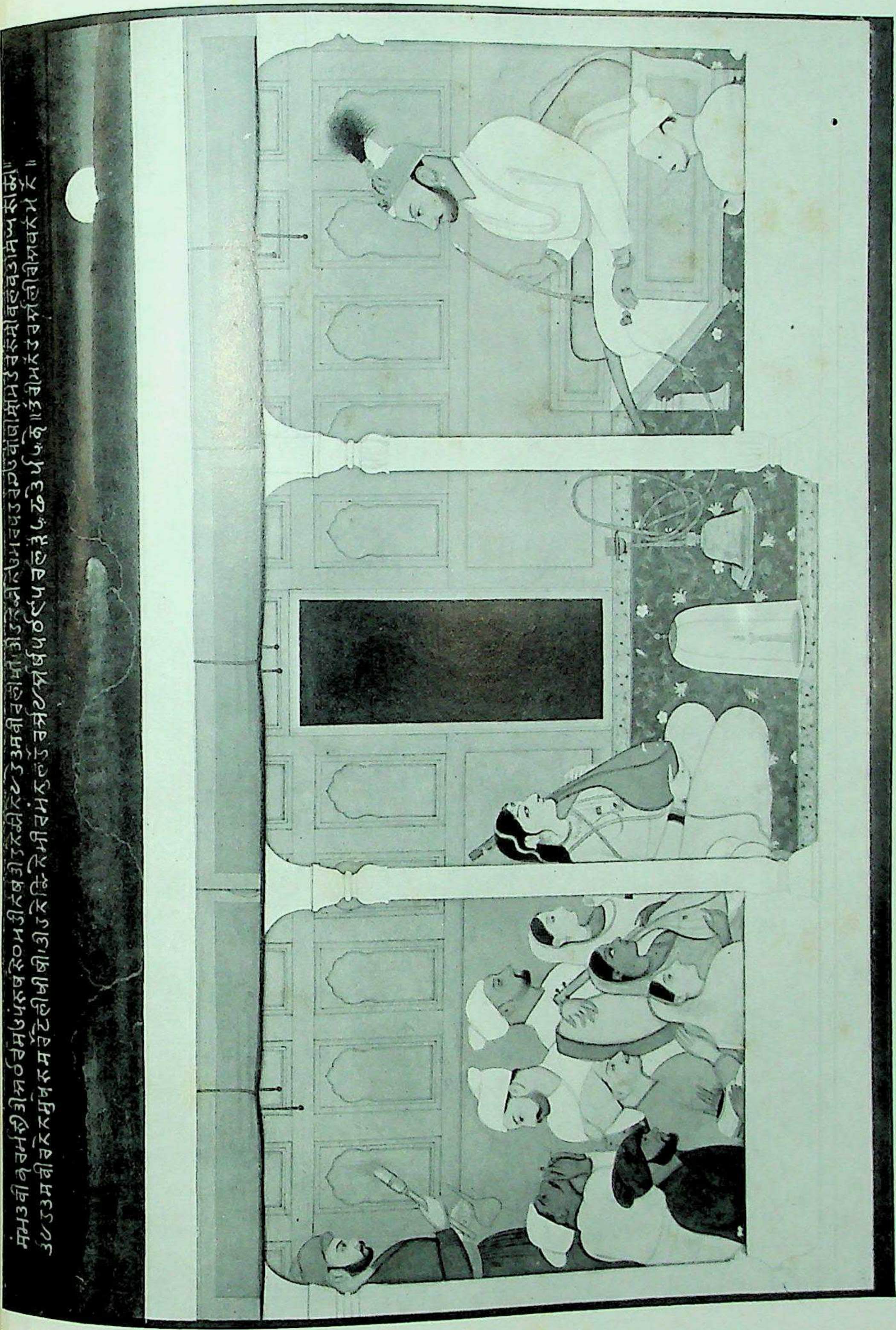
The same distinctive female type appears in other pictures. The first (Fig. 56) shows a girl standing by a drooping tree, distractedly feeding a buck. The background is dim and flat, the sky is bounded by the same still rim while the girl's face and costume is identical with those in Figures 54 and 55.

Another picture (Fig. 57) similarly repeats the same pallid yellow background and the drooping creeper of Figure 56, while the pre-occupation with geometry is once again seen in the three rosettes of formal leaves which canopy the trunk. Beneath this tree stand Radha and Krishna—the twining creeper symbolizing their union. The red of Radha's skirt and the mauve of her bodice are echoed in Figures 54 and 55 while her dress and profile exactly replica the standard female type.

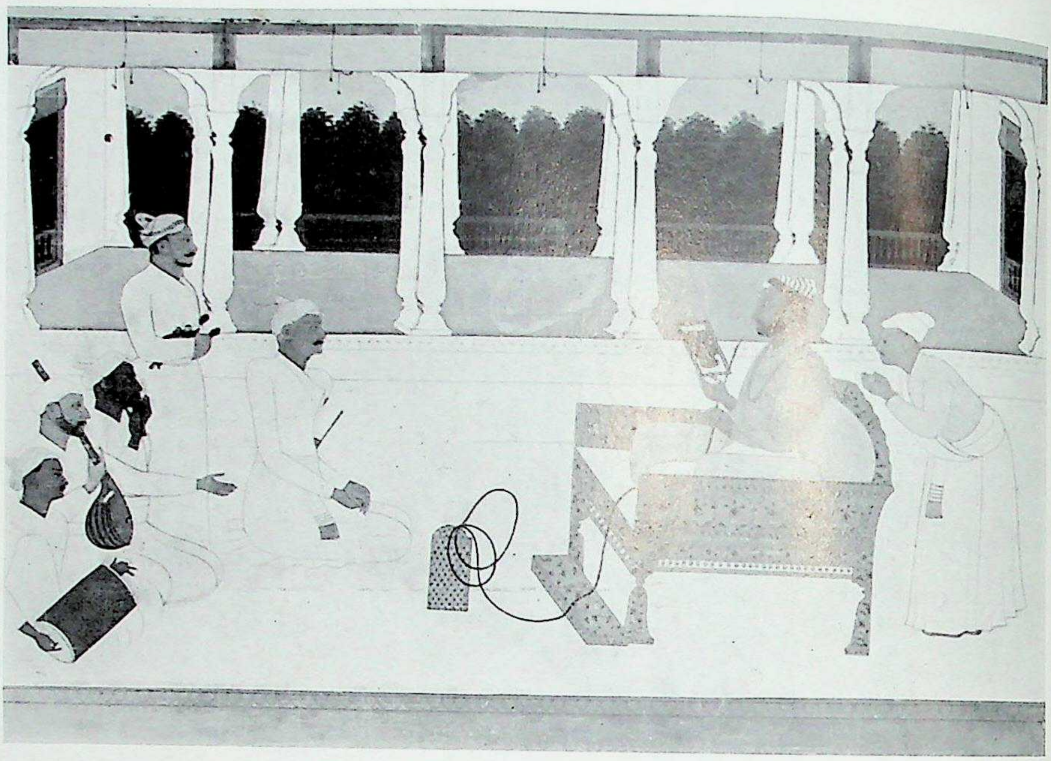
It seems certain, therefore, that all these pictures are expressions of the Jammu style and we thus obtain a single continuous series stretching from about 1730 until 1785.

Such a series makes possible a general view of Jammu painting. We can see it in its early stages concentrating on portraits of nobility. The noble is depicted sometimes alone and sometimes in the company of courtiers, relatives or attendants. But whether he is alone or in company, the picture's prime concern is to present a dignified record of his aristocratic presence. About 1750 romantic themes are added and in this respect there is a certain parallel to developments in Guler. If there are faint resemblances to Basohli, these are quickly obliterated. Indeed we have only to compare a Jammu version of Mian Mukand Dev (Fig. 48) with a Basohli version (Fig. 42) to be conscious of important differences. The Basohli picture distorts the features, enlarging the eye and endowing the subject with an almost insolent ferocity. The colours are hot—a rich yellow marking the costume and a strong brown the background. In contrast, the Jammu version is gentle and refined, the features naturalistic, the colours tepid in their delicate pallor. As the century progresses, it is these characteristics which are stressed. The shrinkage from hot colours becomes a positive zest for pallor. Curves and rectangles invest the figures with monumental dignity. Even in pictures dealing with romantic passion, the pale anaemic colours find a subtle justification as expressions of melancholy and despair.

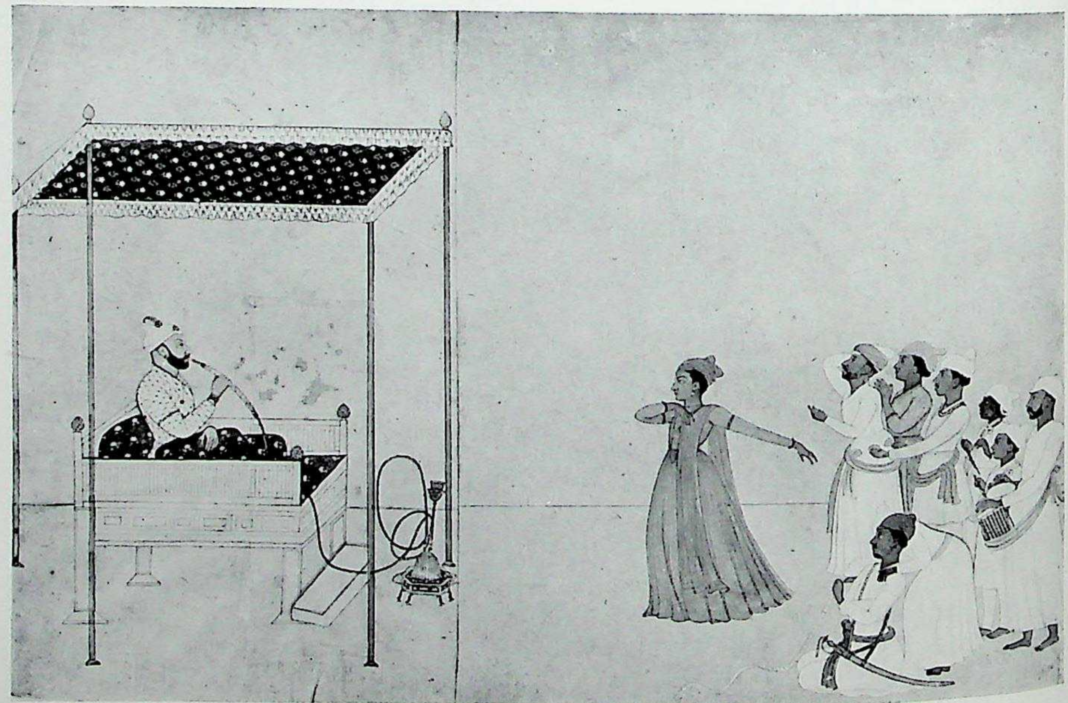
Within this local tradition which reaches its height in the portrait of Brij Raj Dev, Nainsukh of Jasrota appears as a sudden mysterious intruder. The characters in his pictures wear the same long costume as those in other paintings. There is also a marked feeling for geometric structure and fluid rhythmical line. But in every other respect his pictures are in marked conflict with the local style. His colouring is strong, his line vitalistic, his whole approach architectural. His pictures are a series of receding planes and nothing could be in greater constrast to the simple flatness of the local style. Yet although his talent was so brilliant, his 'Mughal' style seems never to have acclimatized itself. Unlike Guler where 'Mughal' artists seem to have come quickly to terms with the local tradition and produced a hybrid art of unexampled refinement, there is no evidence that Nainsukh's presence led to a new and fresh school. Moreover the fact that one of his paintings was later grafted on to a production in the native style suggests that, at the time, Nainsukh was no longer present. Did Balwant Singh meet a catastrophic end? Was Nainsukh's stay in Jammu comparatively short? Can he, by any possibility, have been a Guler artist and, in that event, did he subsequently return to Guler? As we contemplate his pictures and consider them in the light of Guler art, speculations such as these force themselves upon us. We recall, for example, the same disc-like treatment of the foliage in Figure 40 (from Jammu) and Figure 16 (from Guler). We notice how the courtiers in the Jammu painting in Figure 38 are grouped in the same descending circle, their heads all turned in one direction exactly like



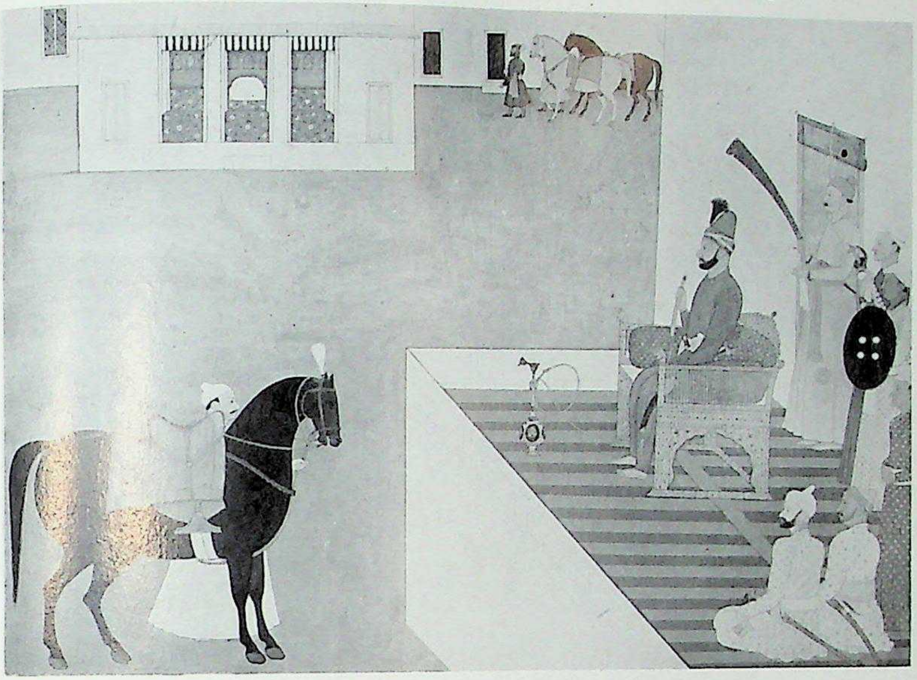
35. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu with a Party of Musicians. Jammu, 1748.



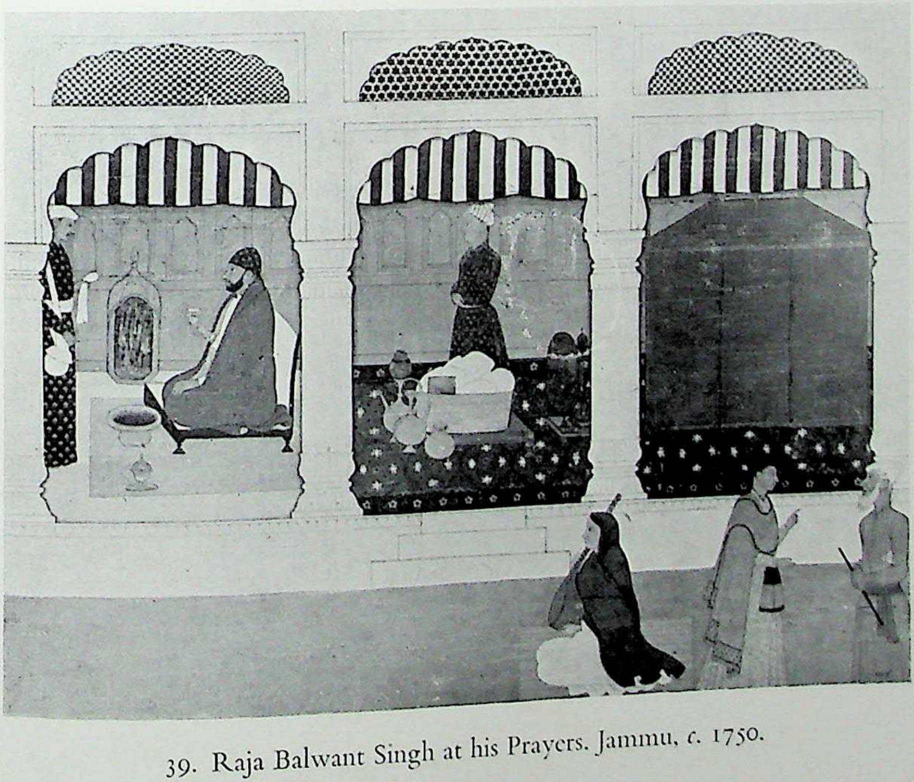
36. Raja Balwant Singh receiving a Picture. Jammu, *c.* 1750.



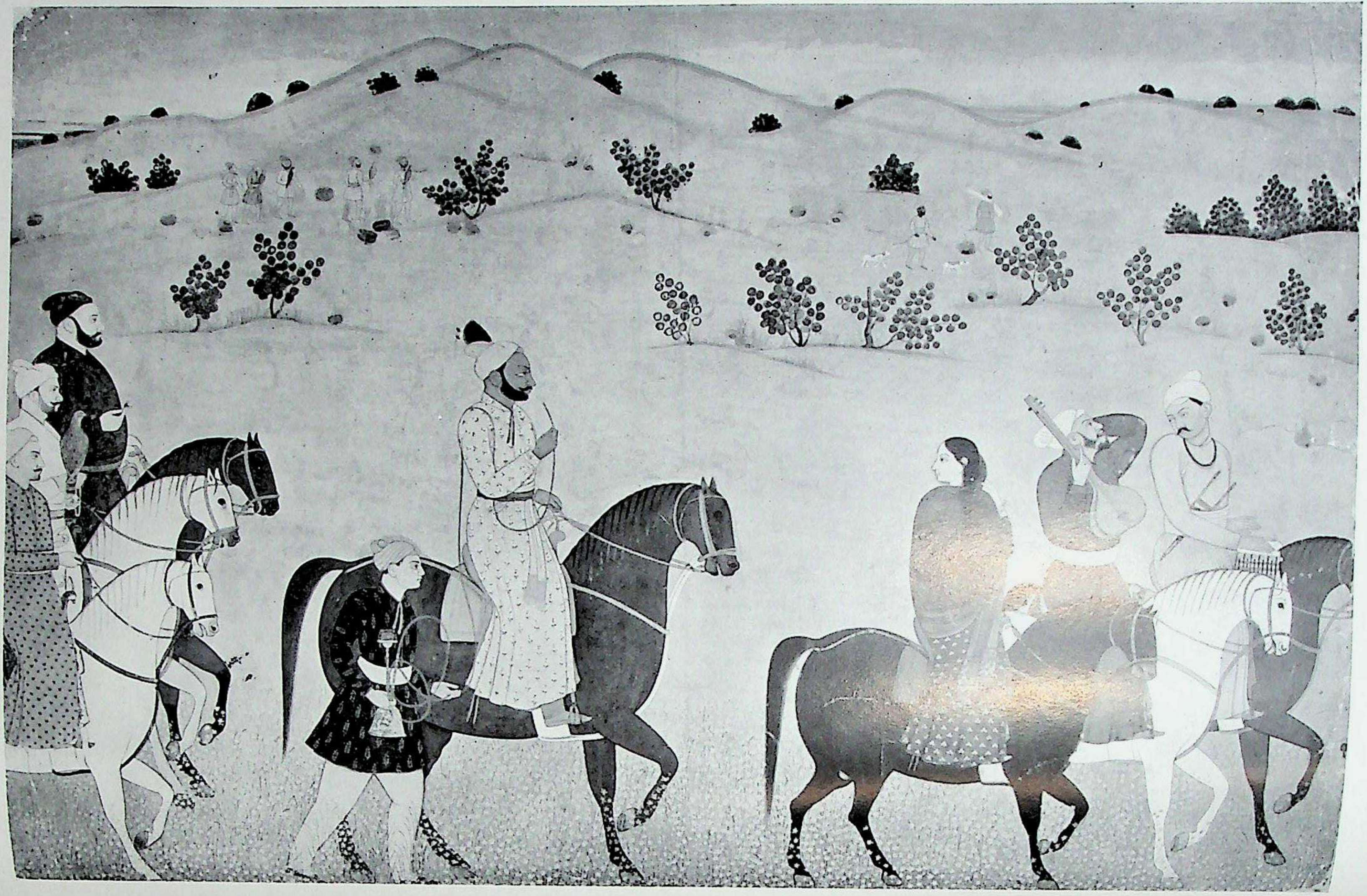
37. Raja Balwant Singh being entertained by Boy-dancers and Musicians. Jammu, *c.* 1750.



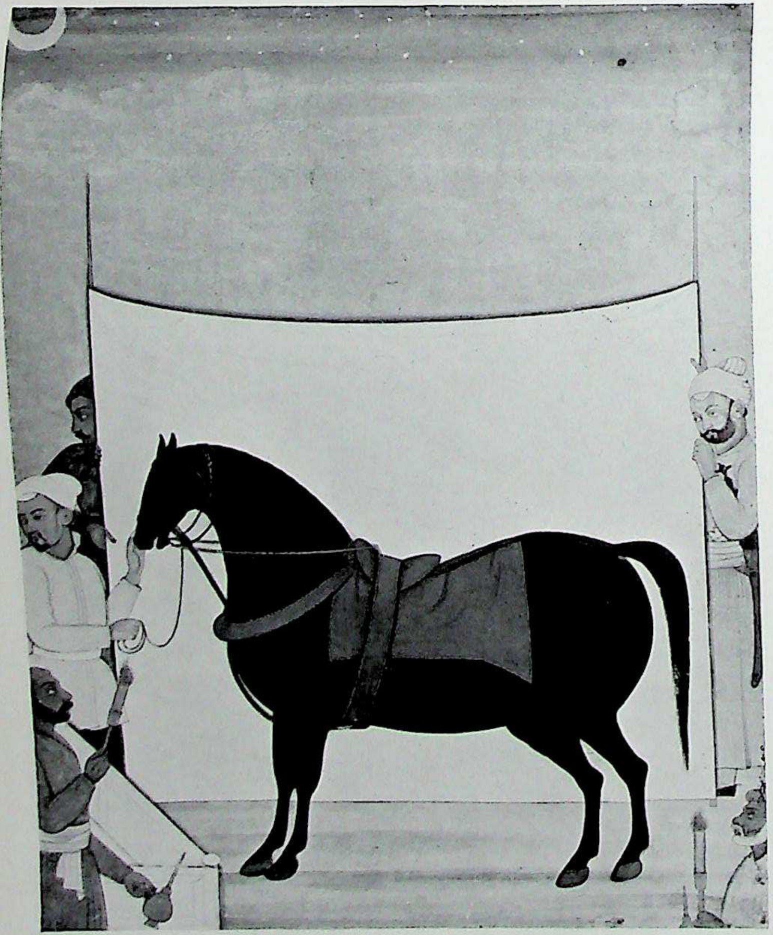
38. Raja Balwant Singh inspecting a Horse. Jammu, *c.* 1750.



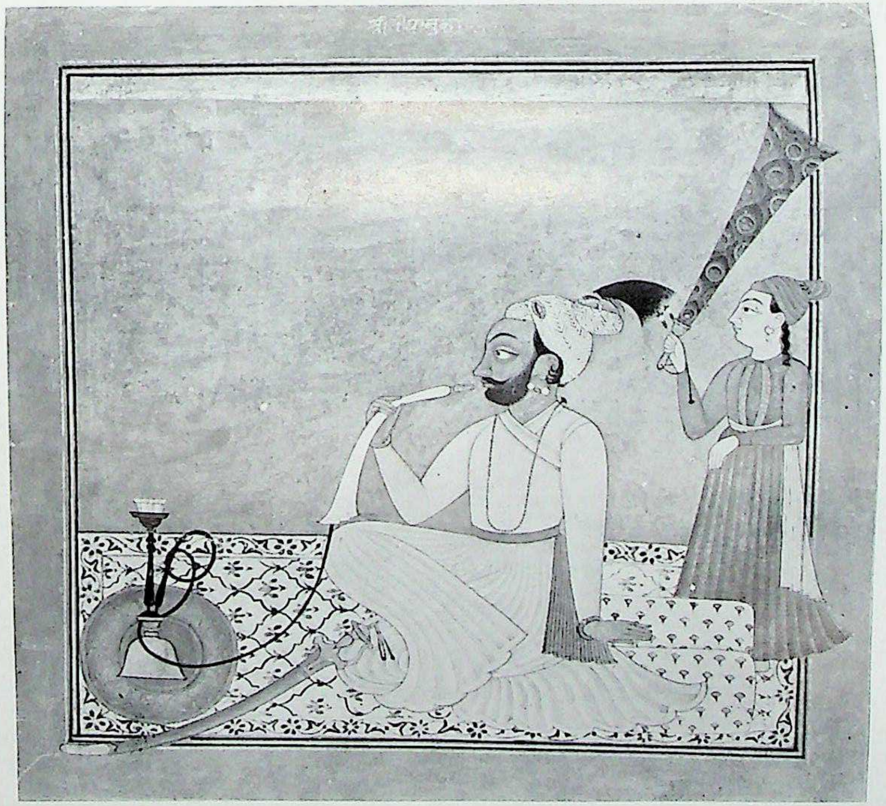
39. Raja Balwant Singh at his Prayers. Jammu, *c.* 1750.



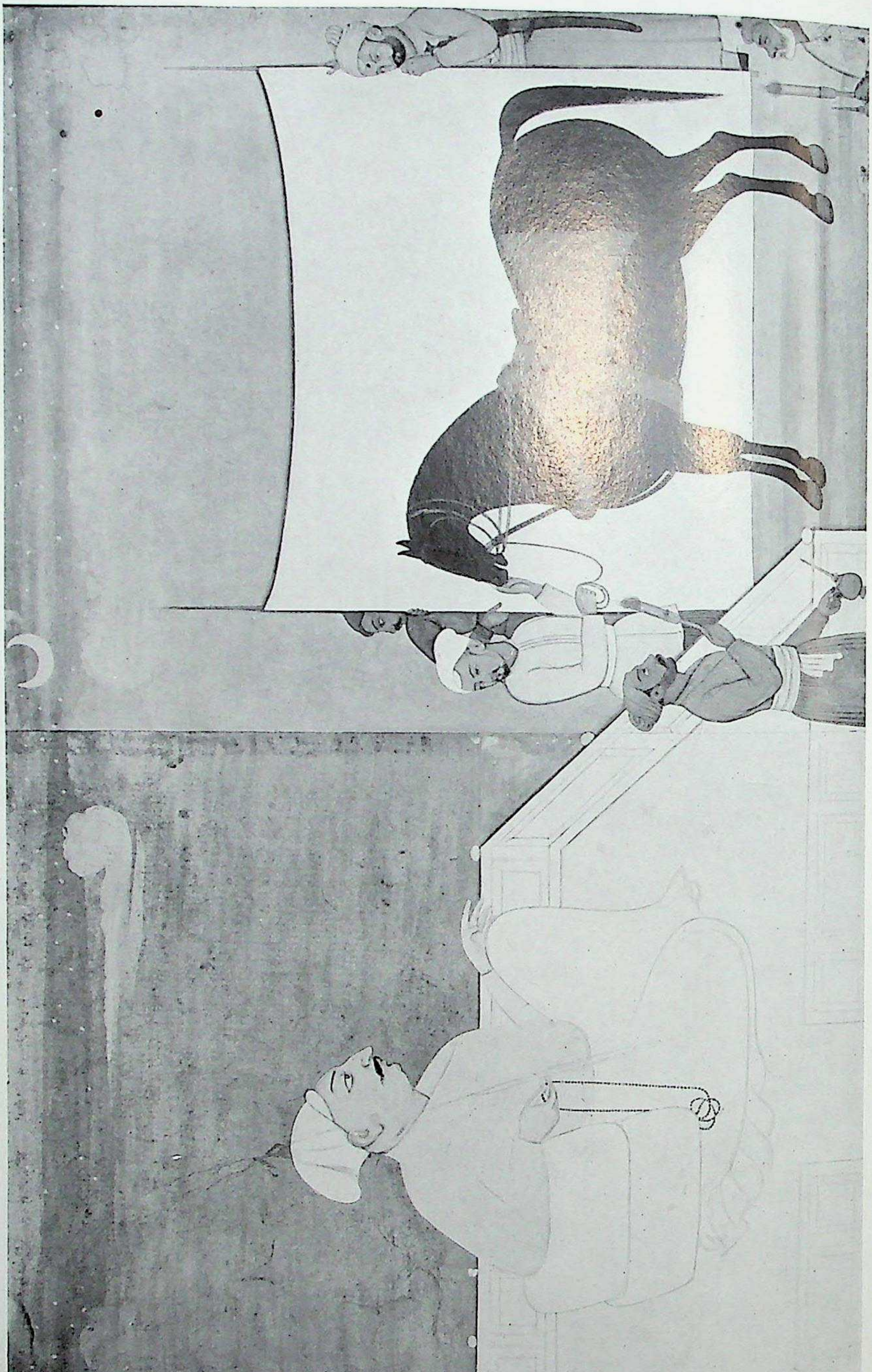
40. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota on a Riding Expedition. Jammu, *c.* 1750.



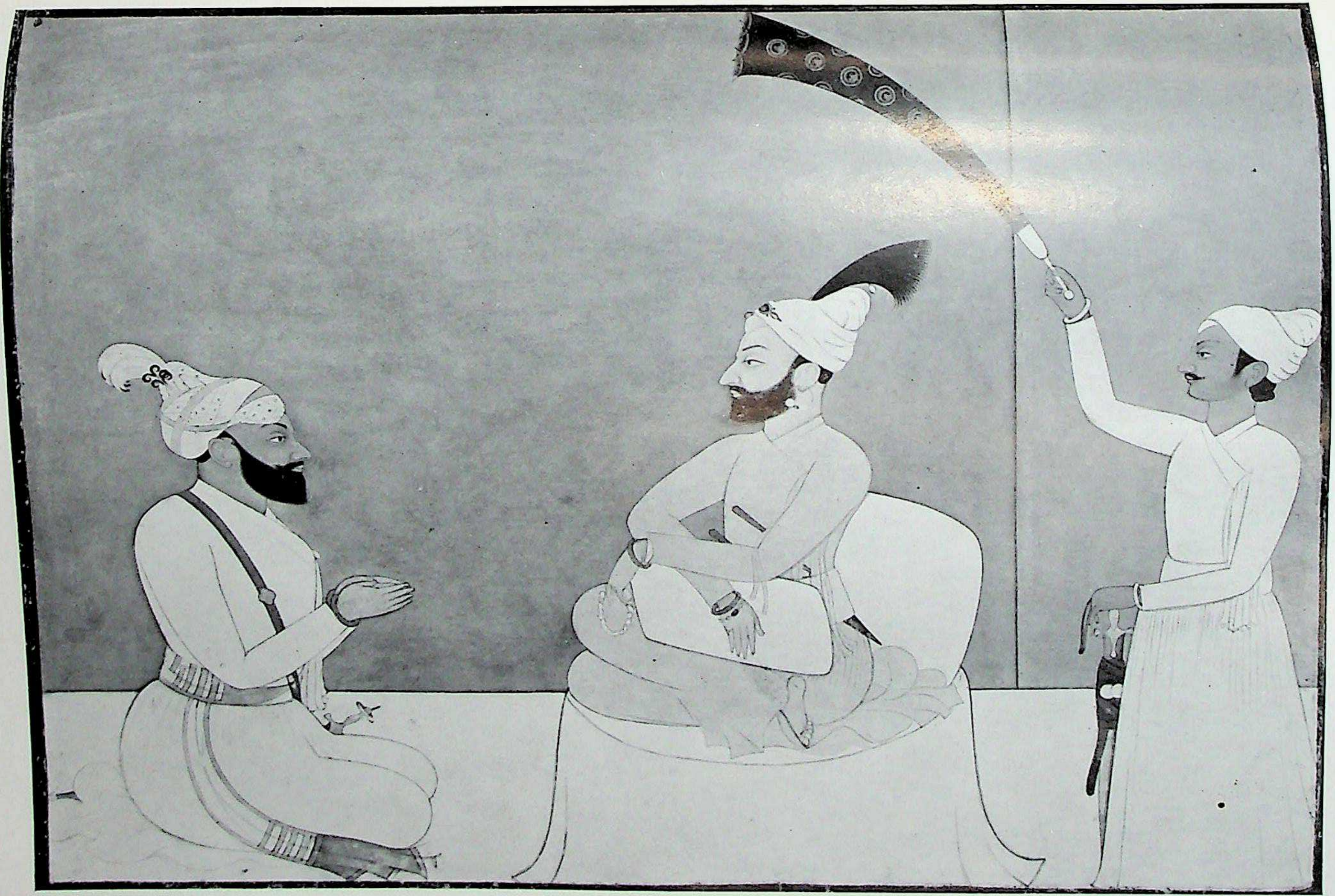
41. Showing the Horse. Detail from Fig. 43. Jammu, *c.* 1750.



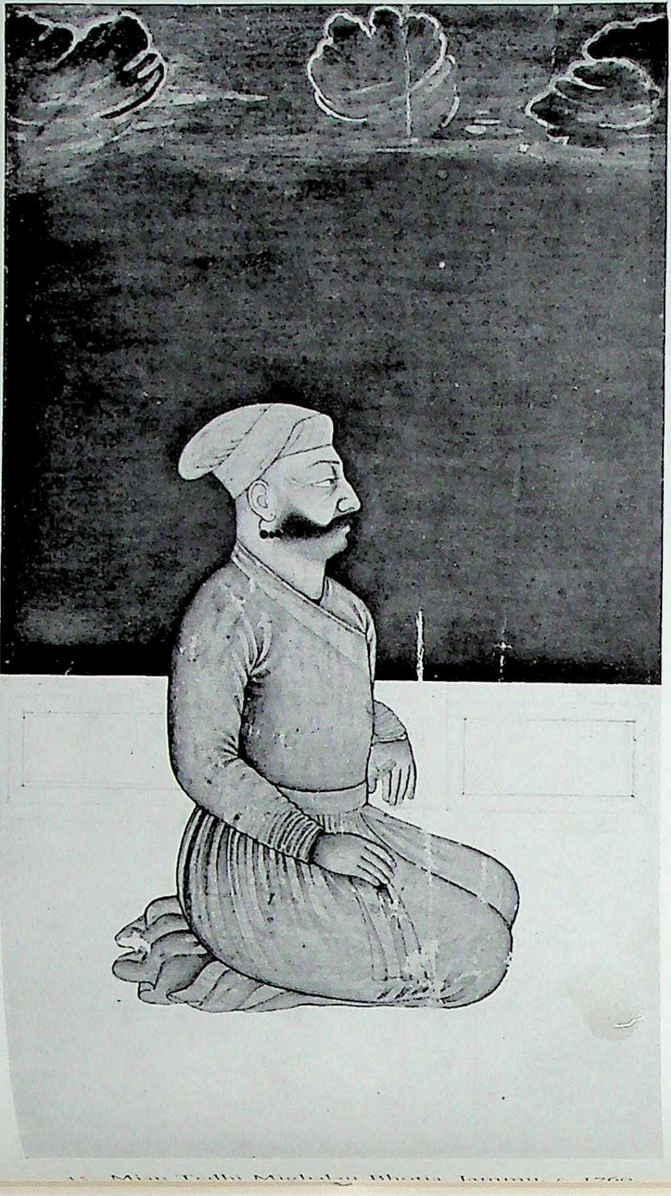
42. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota. Basohli, *c.* 1760.

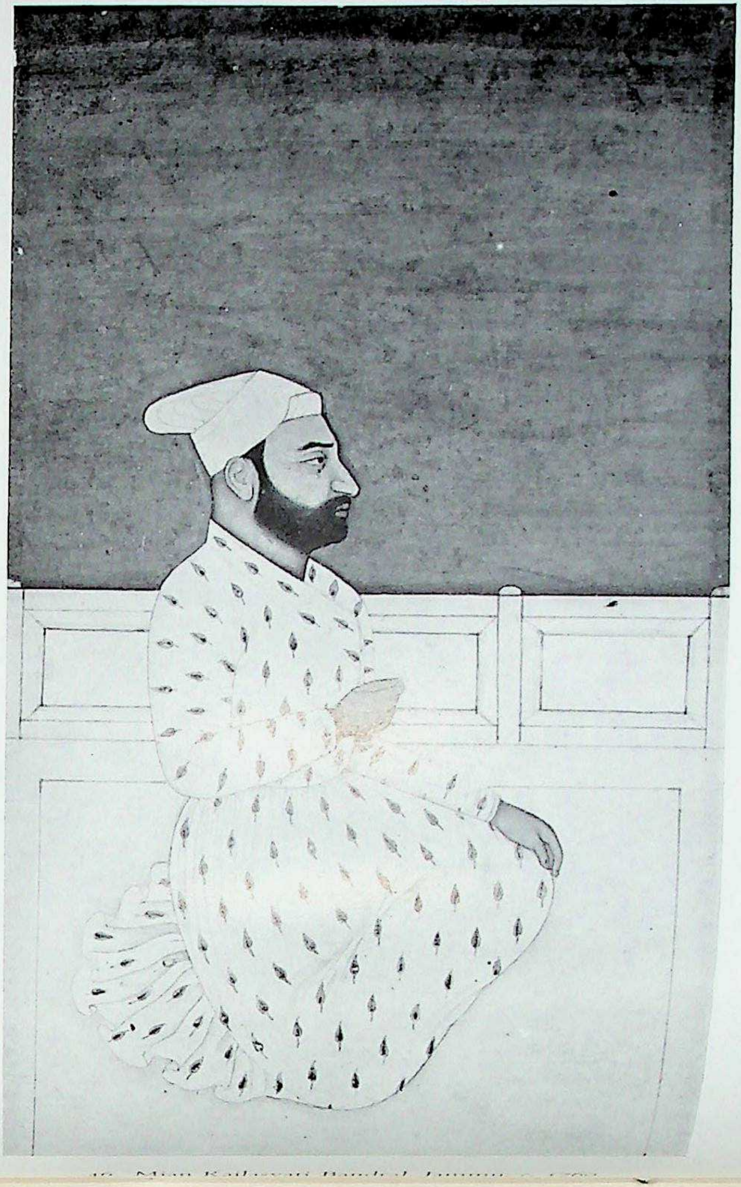


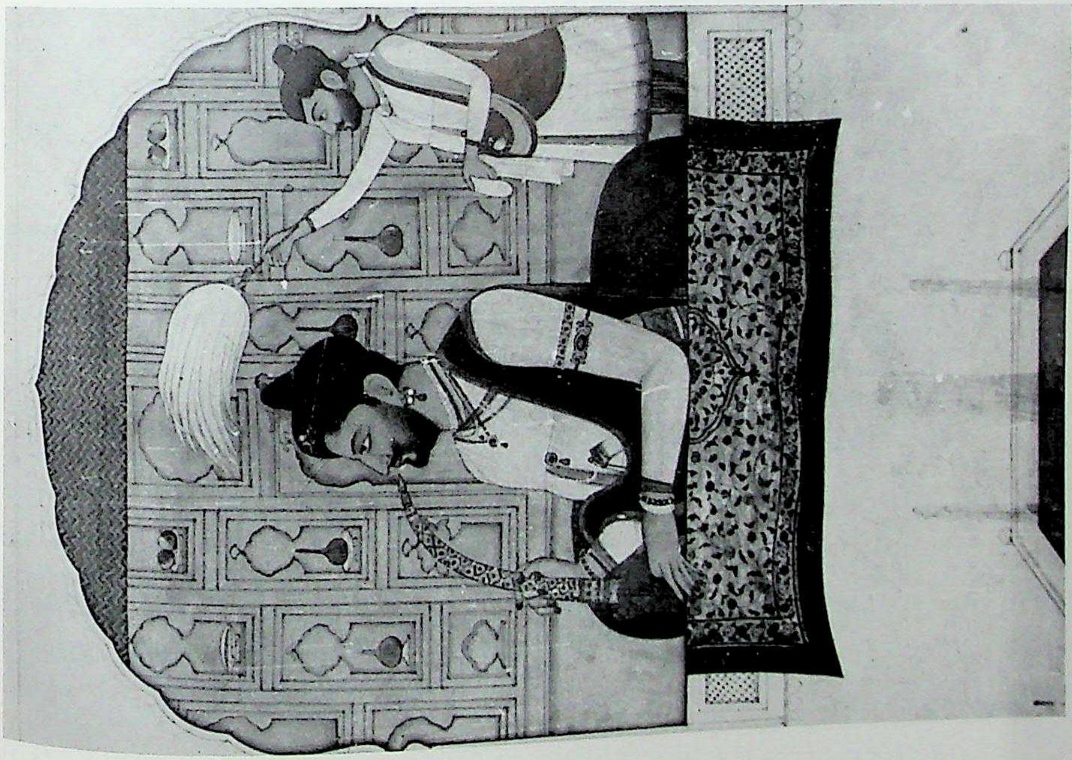
43. Raja examining the Points of a Horse by Torchlight. Jammu, *c.* 1750–70.



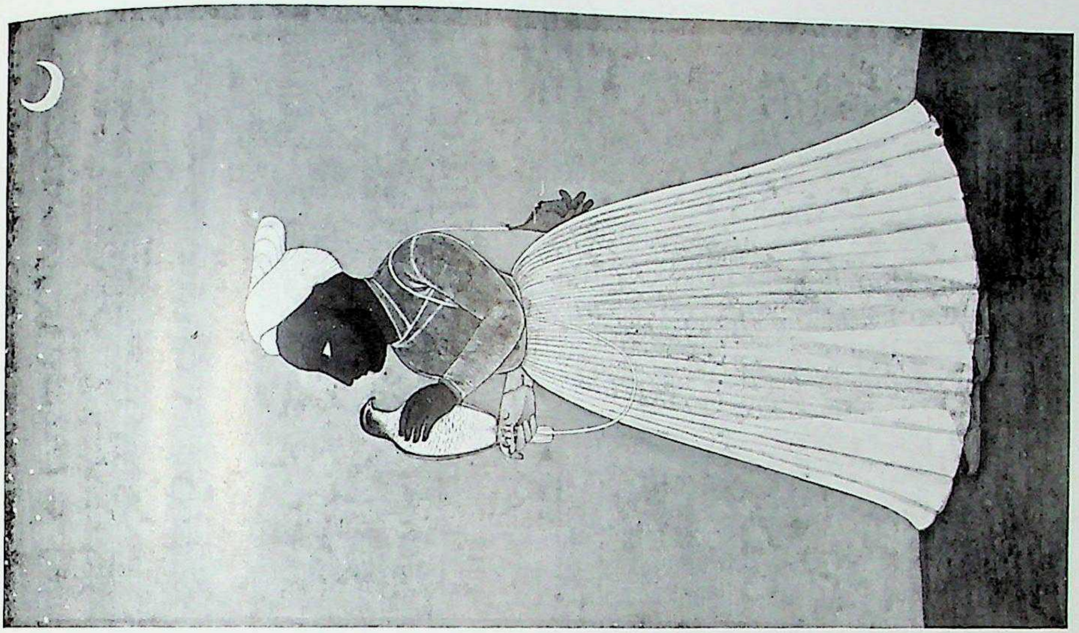
44. Mian Brij Raj Dev of Jammu with Courtier and Attendant. Jammu, *c.* 1770.



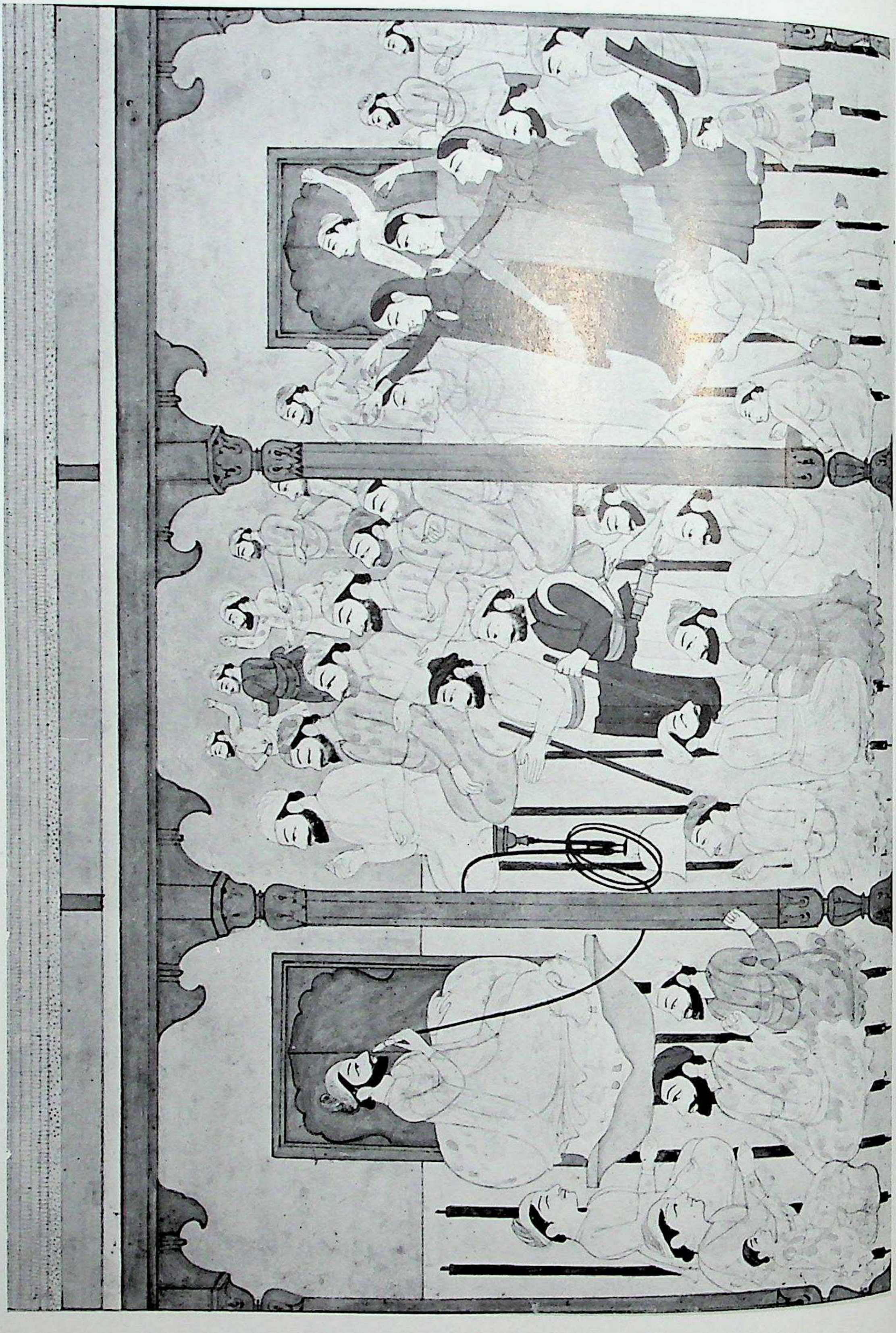




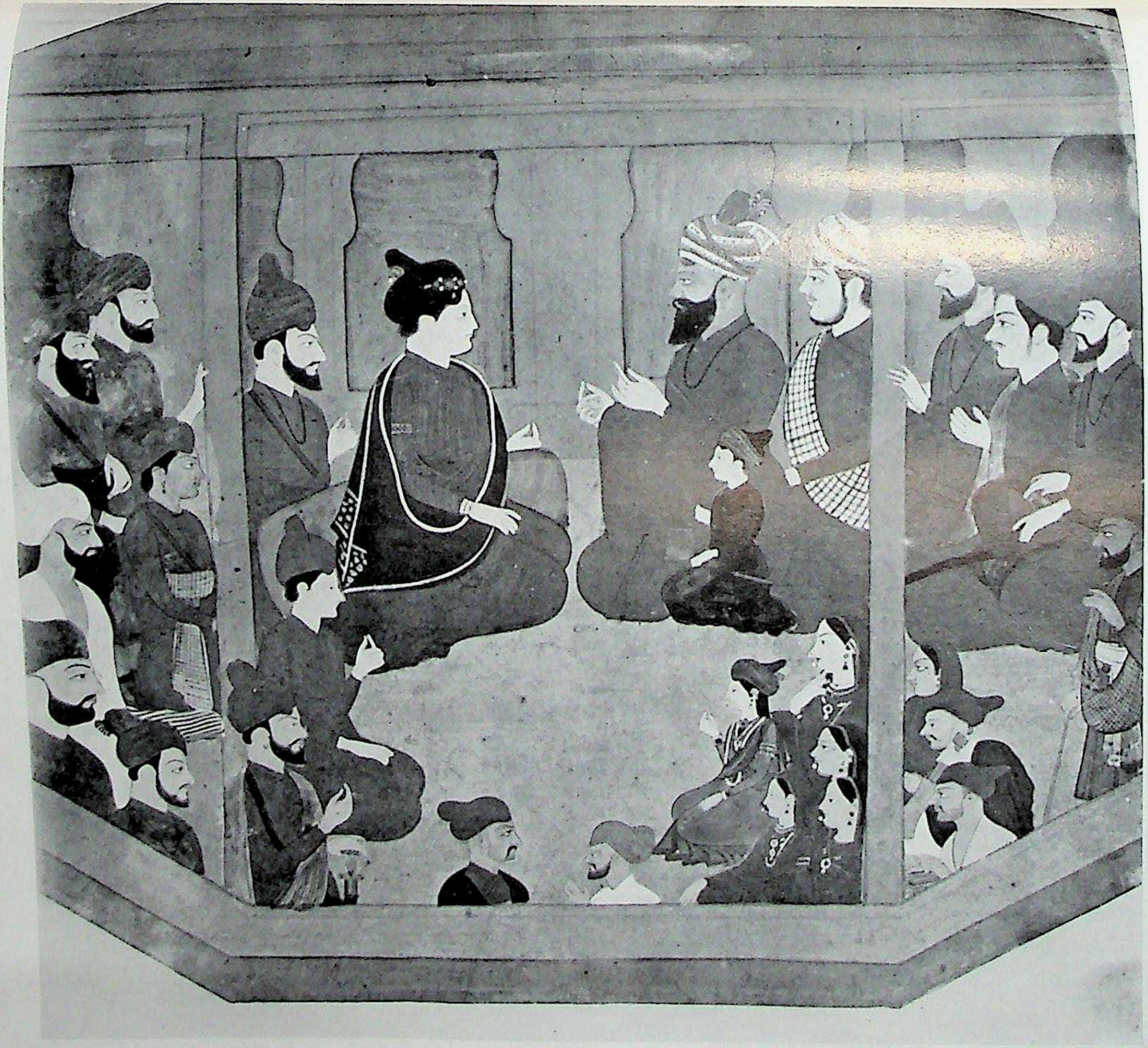
47. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. Kangra, *c.* 1795.



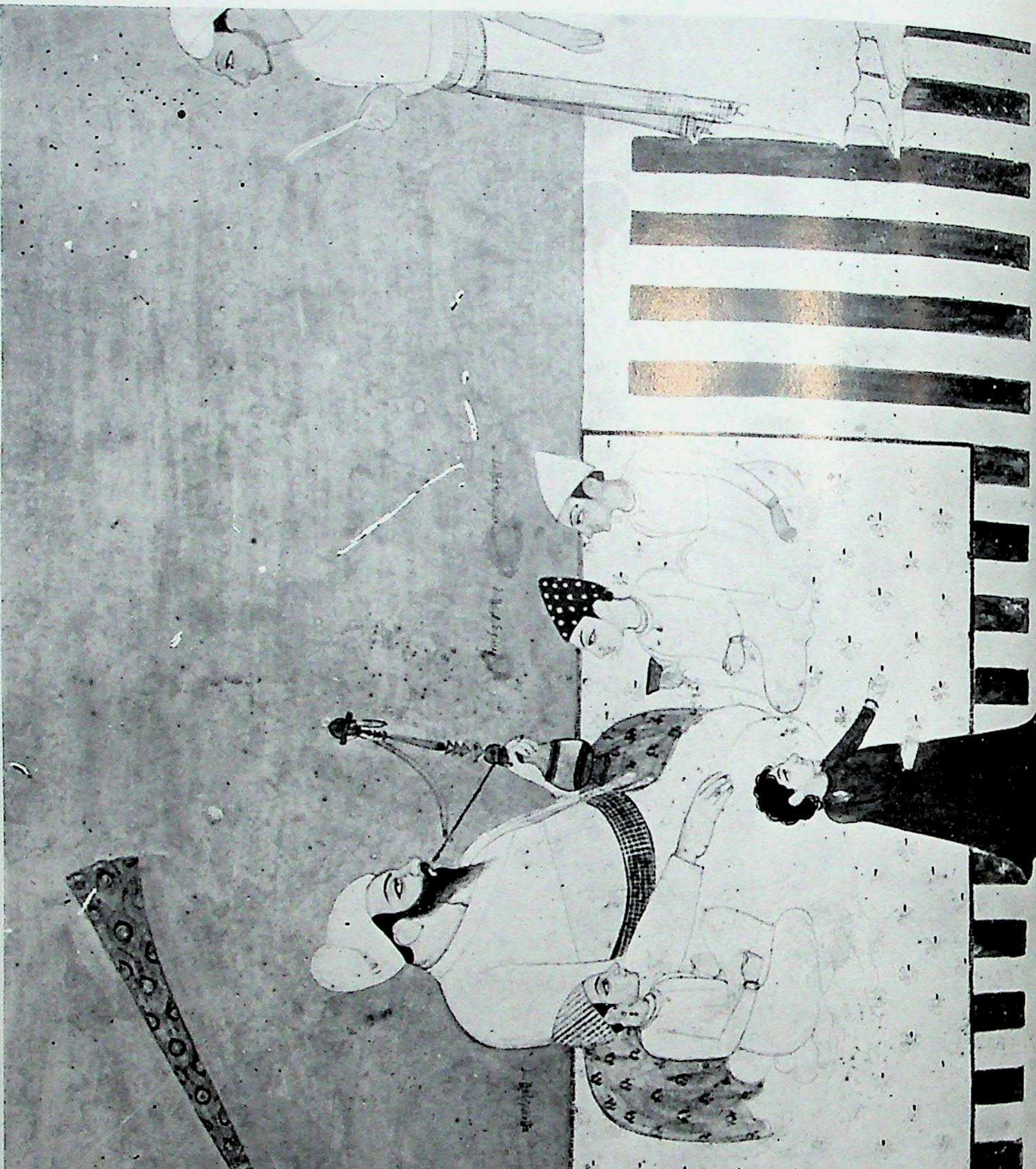
48. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota. Jammu, *c.* 1760.



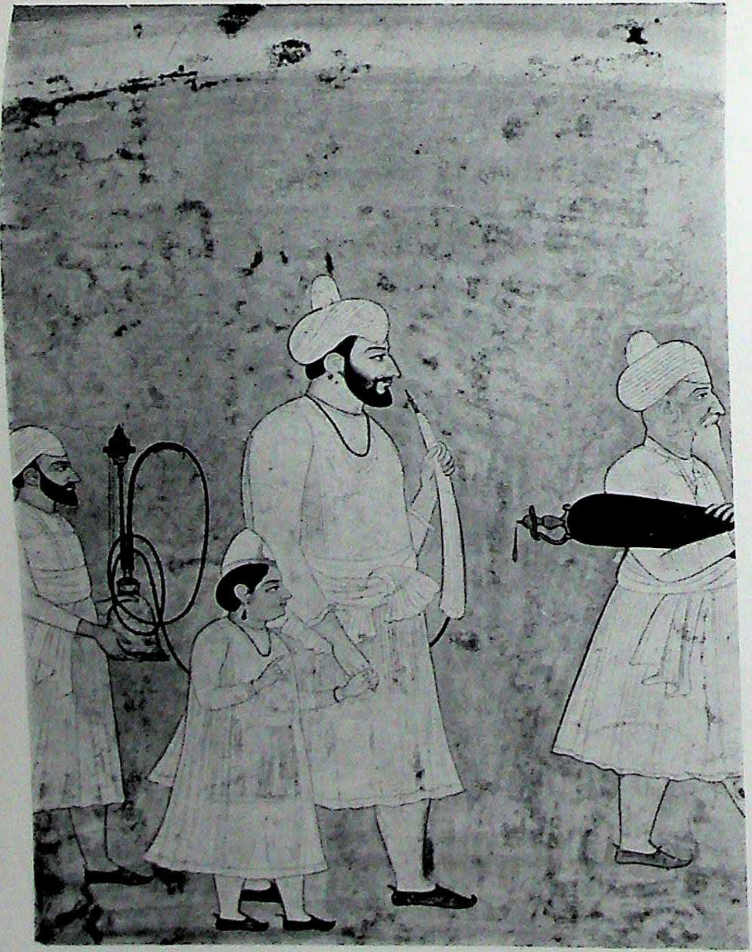
49. Mian Brij Raj Dev of Jammu with Courtiers and Dancing-girls, Jammu, c. 1775.



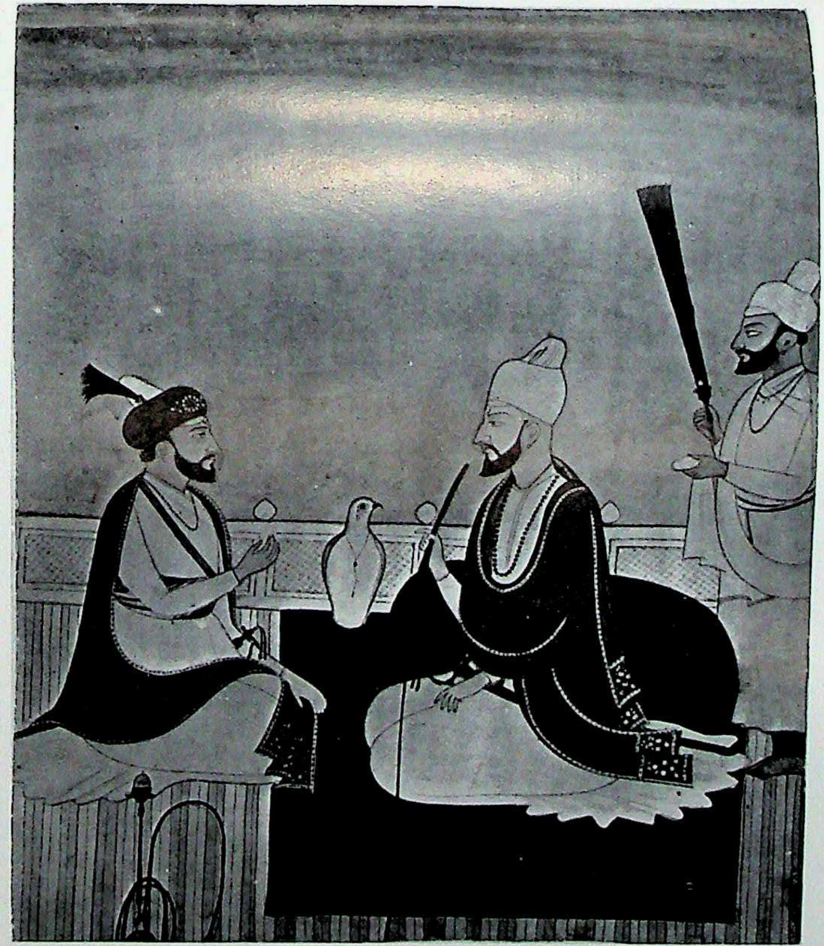
50. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra visiting a Ruler. Kangra (Jammu-Sikh), *c.* 1780.



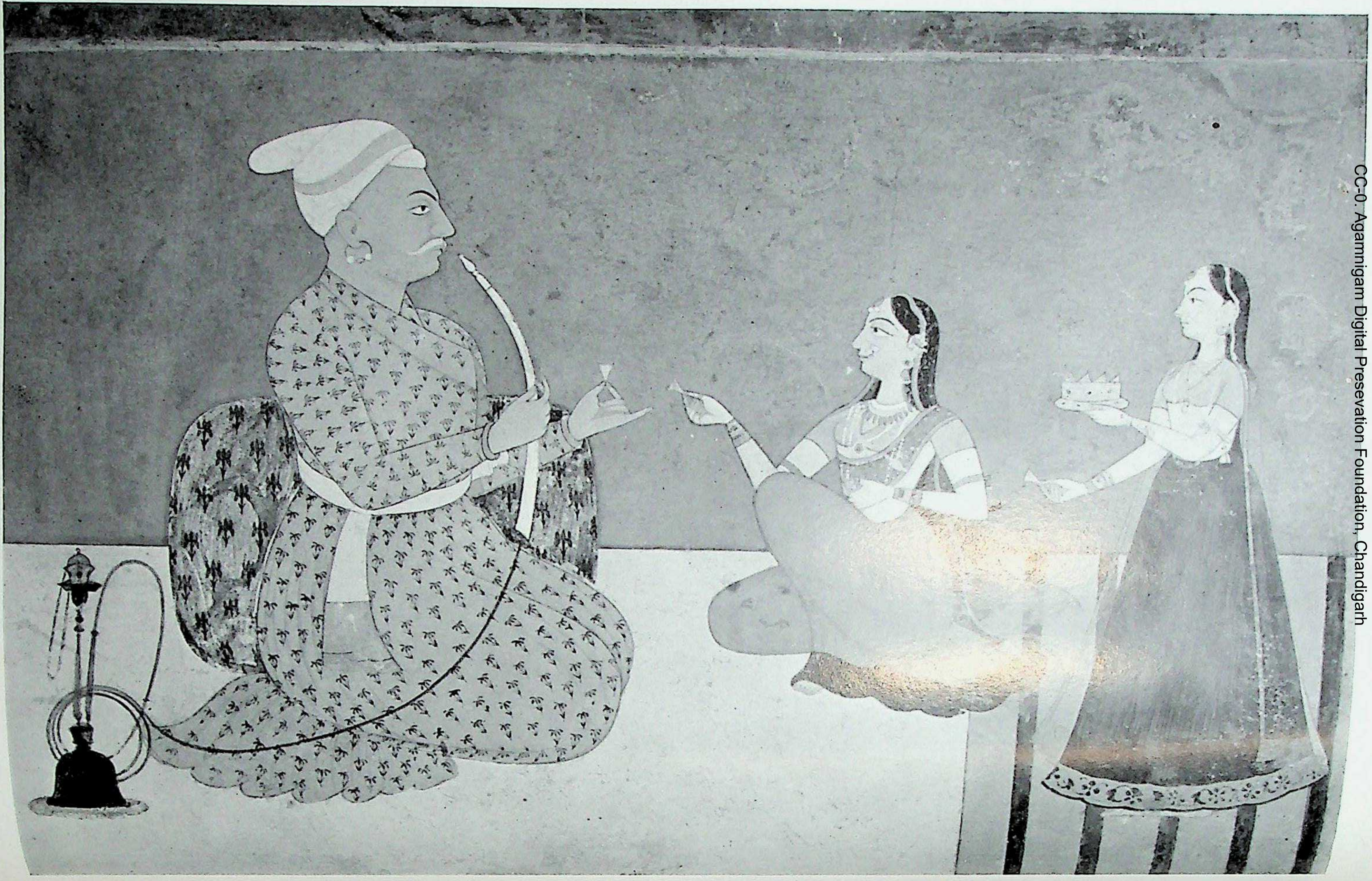
51. Bahadur Singh with Children. Jammu, c. 1750



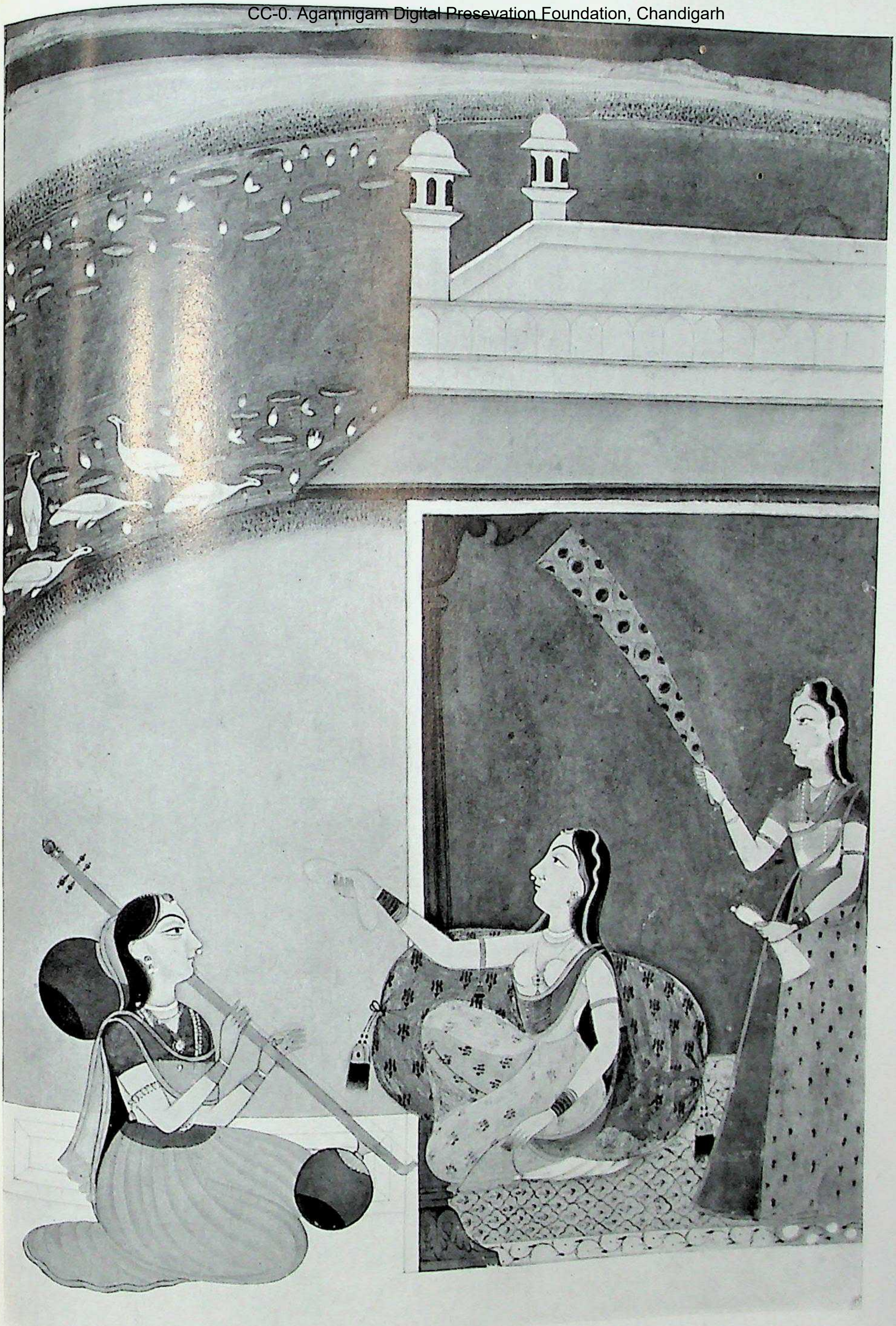
52. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra with his Son, Anirodh Chand. Kangra (Jammu-Sikh), 1796.



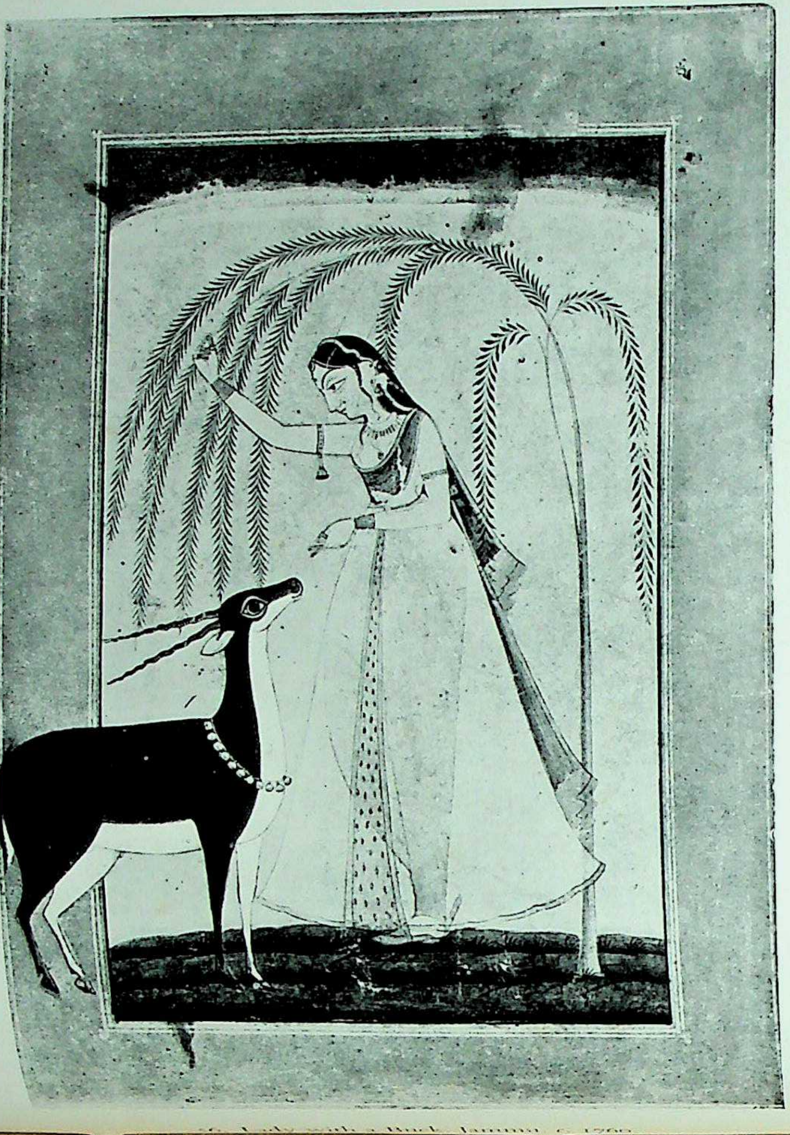
53. Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra. Kangra (Jammu-Sikh), *c.* 1770.



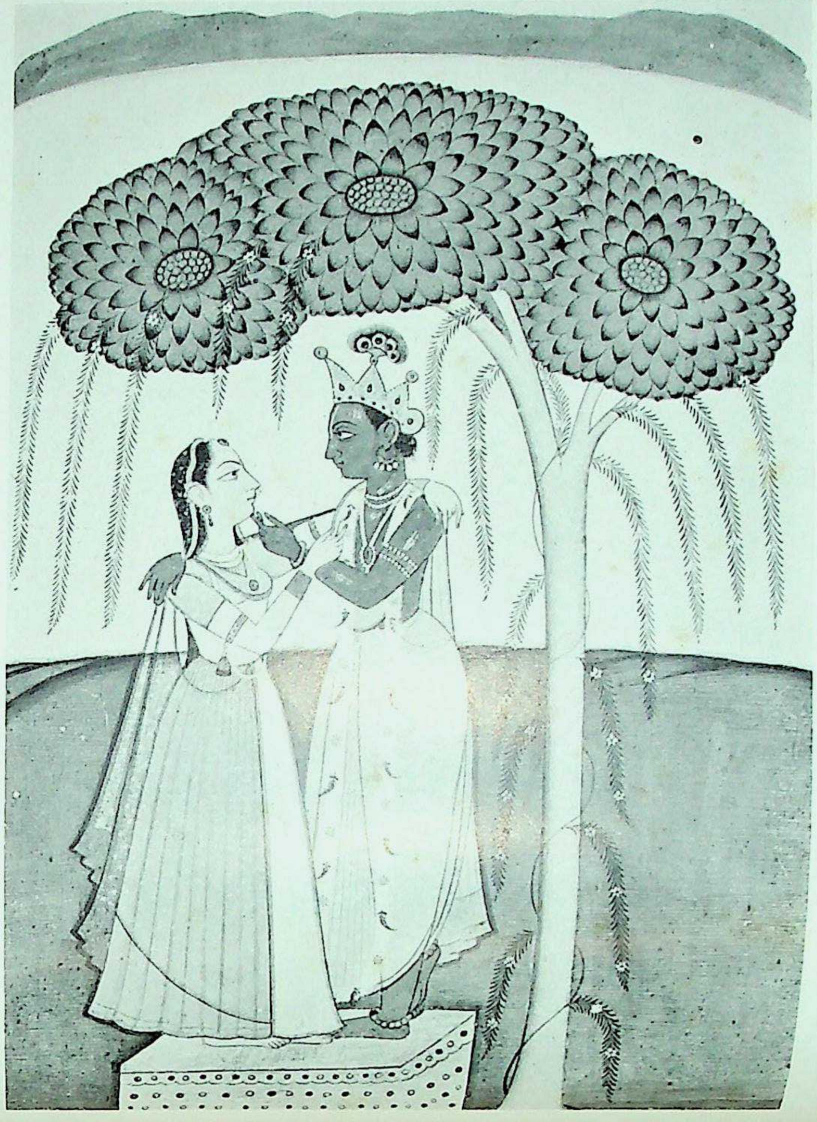
54. Raja Ugar Singh of Chamba. Jammu, c. 1710



55. Lady seeking Solace. Jammu, *c.* 1760.



56. Lady with a Buck, Jammu, c. 1760



57. Radha and Krishna, Jammu, c. 1760

their counterparts in Figure 16 from Guler. We remember the supple ease with which the musicians are depicted in Figures 35 and 37 (Jammu) and their remarkable affinities with those in Figure 16 (Guler). Finally, although the later Guler style seems to have avoided palace scenes of quite the Jammu type, the two styles represent an almost identical adjustment of Mughal technique to Pahari requirements. Such resemblances can hardly be accidental and the suspicion begins to arise that Nainsukh may have played a part in each. We know that the study of Gobardhan Singh which so closely resembles Nainsukh's work is dated 1743, whereas the Jammu portrait of Balwant Singh is dated 1748. There is, accordingly, no prima facie reason why Nainsukh should not have worked in both the places—first developing his 'Pahari-Mughal' style at Guler and later bringing it to Jammu. But even more intriguing is the fact that Nainsukh's style in Jammu stops with sudden abruptness whereas from 1750 onwards the Guler school shows continuous development. At no time are painters of Nainsukh's stature common yet only by assuming the presence of his equal can we explain such a brilliant recrudescence in Guler art. In all these circumstances, is not the most likely explanation—an early settlement by Nainsukh in Guler, a later movement to Jammu, a short stay there by him, and finally, a return to Guler?

The last phase of Jammu art coincides with the expansion of the Sikhs. We have already noted how the closing years of Ranjit Dev's reign (1733–81) were clouded by Sikh incursions. Under Raja Brij Raj Dev (1781–7), Sikh invasions led to constant turmoil and indeed it was during battle with a Sikh army that Brij Raj Dev was killed. Under his son, Sampuran Dev (1787–97) Jammu came under wholly Sikh control and this continued till in 1812 his successor, Jit Dev, was deposed by Ranjit Singh in favour of his son Kharak. It would not be surprising, therefore, if with Sikh influence steadily growing various Jammu painters moved to the Plains, and we can gain some evidence of their possible activities from a strange and unexpected quarter.

When we examine a group of five pictures, all associated with rulers of Kangra, we are faced with some disquieting resemblances. The first (Fig. 53) shows Raja Ghamand Chand (1751–74) seated with a prince who is very probably his successor, Tegh Chand (1774–5),(9) while the remaining four depict Sansar Chand at different stages of his life. Two of these latter pictures have already been reproduced by Mr French in *Indian Art and Letters*,(10) while a third (Fig. 50) was also photographed by him in 1921 from originals in the Lambagaon collection. The last example is in the Victoria and Albert Museum and bears an inscription written by the traveller, William Moorcroft. In the first three pictures, Sansar Chand appears as a youth aged about fifteen years and since he was born in 1765, the date of the pictures would be about 1780. One of them (Pl. I, French) depicts his marriage procession while another (Pl. IV, French) shows him inspecting the work of various artists. The scene can hardly be his own court, for another and much larger figure has been allowed to dominate the picture. The fourth painting (Fig. 52) shows Sansar Chand, at a rather later age, walking with his son and two attendants. The picture was acquired by Moorcroft at the Raja's country residence in Tira Sujanpur, Kangra State, in 1820, and contains two notes. The first in Hindi reads 'Sri Maharaja Sri Sansar Chand' and the second in Moorcroft's own handwriting 'The Portraits of Maharaja Sunsar Chund and his son Rau Unrood Chund taken 24 years ago. July 18. 1820. William Moorcroft'. Assuming this note to be correct, this picture was therefore painted in 1796.

Yet, although these five pictures all portray the most famous rulers of Kangra, a cursory glance shows that none of them is in either the Guler or the 'Kangra' manner. On the contrary, it is with Figures 49 and 51 that their affinities seem obviously to lie. In the Moorcroft picture, the background is a flat wash of pale veridian green, the sky is a rim of azure blue, the figures are all in white save for red shoes and black beards while the drawing has the same air of awkward uncertainty as in the earlier studies. In actual colour, there is a remarkable resemblance to Figure 48. But what is even more significant —instead of treating the figures in depth, the artist has used the Jammu convention of reducing them all to a single flat plane. Finally, the pallid chilly colours completely separate this picture from the Kangra school proper and link it to those very Jammu pictures which we have just examined.

Similar considerations apply with equal force in the case of the other four. In Plate IV of Mr French's article, the sky has the same tangled appearance as in the portrait of the Bhoti ruler (Fig. 45) though, in other respects, the picture more closely approximates to the coarse version of Brij Raj Dev (Fig. 49). There are the same stunted figures, the same striped carpet and the same dispositions of flat forms against a bare flat ground. Figure 50 is an obvious companion to Mr French's Plate IV but is even nearer to Figure 49. The bearded figures are seated in the same crowded circle, the women have almost identical profiles while the geometric treatment of the room closely parallels its rectangles. In fact so close in manner are the two pictures that the same kind of stippled hatching is used on the roof and the same rectangular bands are inserted just beneath. We are faced, therefore, with the appearance of 'Jammu' pictures in the very heart of Kangra.

This development is hardly surprising when we recall the wide spread of Sikh influence. We know that Sansar Chand was in constant touch with the Sikh community and nothing would, therefore, be more likely than that in the course of visits to Sikh courts, he should have attracted the attention of artist emigrés from Jammu and been depicted in Sikh company during the course of his visit. Such pictures would be presented to the young Raja and brought to Kangra on his return. In the alternative, certain Jammu artists, attracted by the growing power of the Sikhs but finding the plains uncongenial, may even have penetrated to Kangra itself, thus explaining the portrait (Fig. 53) of Ghamand Chand himself. Certainly by 1796, the year when Figure 52 was executed, at least one 'Jammu' artist was at the Kangra court. His art, however, with its clumsy finish and archaic structure, can hardly have impressed a court in which the main Guler tradition was already producing such accomplished studies as the portrait, Figure 47. Indeed it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Moorcroft was able to procure this picture only because it had already been rejected by Sansar Chand or was intended for a socially inferior public. Such a style was obviously doomed and just as 'Kangra' art was adopted by the Sikhs, it is Kangra which also eliminates Jammu.

IV. PAINTING IN PŪNCH

WITH Jammu painting thus described, we are now in a position to approach our third and final problem—painting in Punch. This small State lies even farther north than Jammu, at the westernmost extremity of all the Punjab Hills. Its immediate neighbour was Kashmir and during the seventeenth century when the Mughals held their summer court at Srinagar, the imperial baggage trains would often pass within twenty miles of its small capital. It is not surprising, therefore, that while the State was linked by hill tracks with Rajput centres such as Jammu, other influences also reached it from the Plains and from Lahore. But in other respects also its position was somewhat anomalous. Unlike Kangra, Basohli, Guler and Jammu, all of which were Hindu in religion and culture, Punch had been almost entirely Muhammadan from the middle of the fifteenth century. Its Hindu ruling house—a branch of the Jodhpur family of Rathor Rajputs—had adopted Islam and until the Sikh conquest of 1813, only Punch, the town, retained a Hindu character through its traders and merchants. But further complications were to follow. With its capture by the Sikhs, its Muslim court was abolished but from then until 1844, its ruler, the Sikh minister, Raja Gulab Singh, was hardly ever resident and only under Raja Moti Singh (1859–97) did Punch regain substantial autonomy. A Muslim countryside, a Hindu capital, a Muslim court until 1813, a Hindu court thereafter—it is these contradictions which provide the background against which we must now investigate its art.(1)

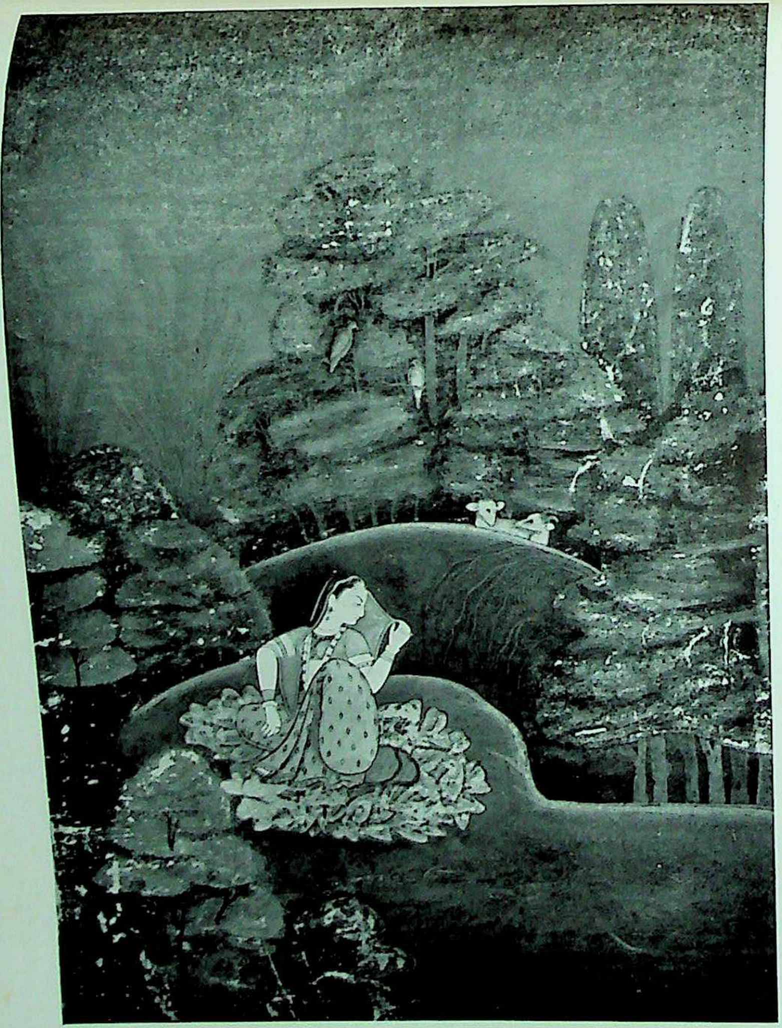
The first piece of evidence to throw some light on the problem is an observation by Mr J. C. French.(2) During a visit to Punch in 1922, Mr French noticed a number of wall-paintings in 'Kangra' style on the interior walls of the Raja's palace. The themes were drawn from the romance of Radha and Krishna and the particular style, Mr French considered, was 'post 1820'. Mr French was unfortunately unable to photograph these murals and it is impossible, therefore, to state their exact character. The observation is, none the less, significant for it proves that certainly in the nineteenth century, if not earlier, influences from the southern hills had reached this remote territory.

It is rather with a set of four pictures, all in the Central Museum, Lahore, that definite knowledge of Punch art can be said to begin. All these pictures were obtained in Punch itself and while there is little doubt, as we shall presently see, that they are actually examples of a local style, their first and most striking characteristic is a partial resemblance to Guler paintings of about the year 1755 (cp. Figs. 22, 23 and 25). One picture (Fig. 63) is a scene from the Mahabharata in a manner not unlike the Unveiling of Draupadi and indeed so marked is this particular resemblance that we are at once inclined to suspect that if certain Guler artists actually migrated to Kangra and Chamba about the years 1775–80, another and slightly earlier migration may possibly have taken a few of them even further to the north-west. Such a movement might conceivably have taken place in about the year 1770 when Raja Gobardhan Singh was already ageing and if we are to judge by other pictures, tentatively assigned to Chamba, it is even possible that Chamba also was affected at about the same time. Whatever may have been the actual course of events, however, it is plain that sometime after 1760, at least one artist trained in the Guler manner must have settled in Punch and there affected the local style. It is unlikely that we shall ever know his name or exact method of working but only by assuming such an influence can we explain the strong Guler elements in these particular pictures.

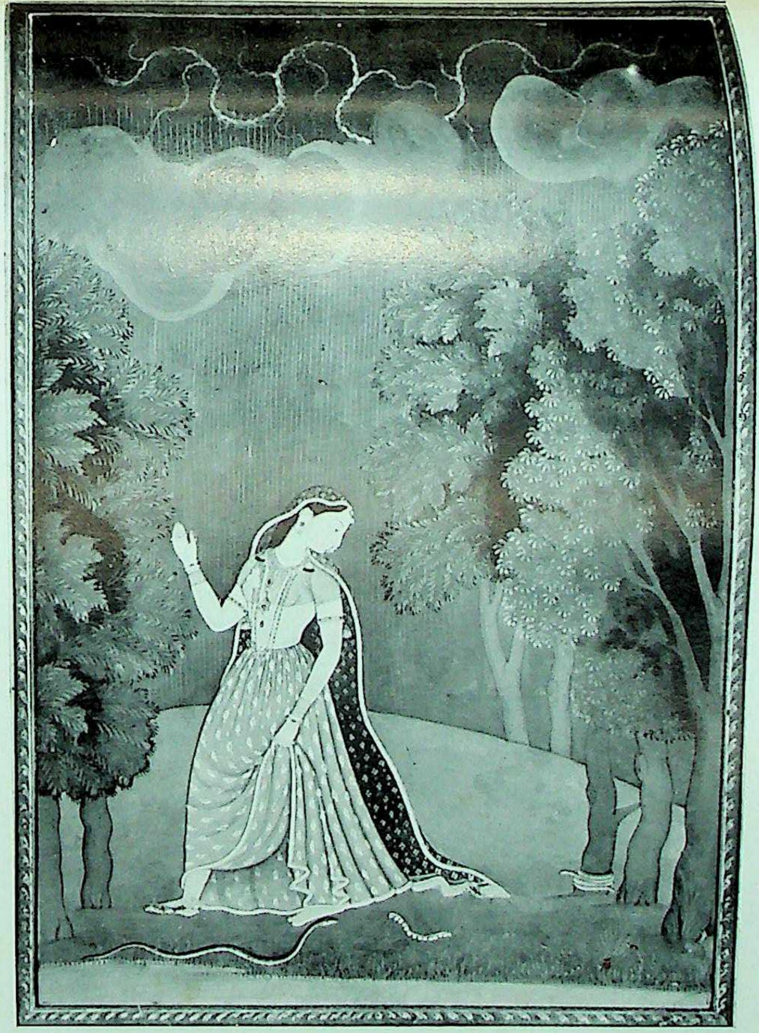
Such elements characterize not only the three remaining studies in the Lahore Museum (Figs. 58, 59 and 60) but a further four pictures (Figs. 61, 66, 69 and 70), in exactly similar style, in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In all these seven pictures, there is not only the same preoccupation with romantic themes but also a particular kind of physique which bears a close relation to certain Guler forms. Indeed but for a slight over-arching of the eye-brows, a sharper cut to the features, and a somewhat taller figure, the feminine forms in all these pictures would be almost identical with the Guler types to which we have just referred. Equally, in the idioms for trees and architecture there is a close approximation to Guler painting in the years immediately preceding its fusion with 'Kangra'. The essential differences in fact only become apparent when certain other features are taken into account. A striking aspect of the pictures in the Victoria and Albert Museum is the use of greyish black for skies and backgrounds (Figs. 66 and 69), the recourse to a dazzling white for fields and hill-sides (Fig. 70) and the occasional use of brilliant sombre colours such as the purple in the lady's skirt in Figure 69—details which give the works a quite distinctive character but which are apparently wanting in the art of Guler. Moreover, although the highly formal landscapes are not unlike the fang-like hills so prominent in Guler pictures, the general style is in the main more geometric and harder. Even, therefore, if these pictures owe much to Guler influence, certain of their features must almost certainly be the product of another style—a style already existing and indigenous to Punch.

To discover this style must therefore be our main task for unless we can isolate the elements peculiar to Punch, we shall obviously be unable to reconstruct, even tentatively, this separate type of Pahari art. Yet the problem, at first sight, seems almost to defy solution for so far as we know the State was never a major centre of Pahari painting, it was certainly at no time renowned for its pictures and apart from the four examples in the Lahore Museum, no paintings definitely known to have been procured in Punch have reached any of the larger public or private collections. Short, in fact, of visiting Punch itself and exhaustively inspecting whatever pictures may still remain in the palace store-rooms and State offices, the problem would appear to be insoluble. Yet, in spite of such unpromising circumstances, a partial reconstruction is, none the less, feasible and we owe this lucky *dénouement* to the chance survival of a particular picture and the inferences which its subject-matter and style enable us to draw.

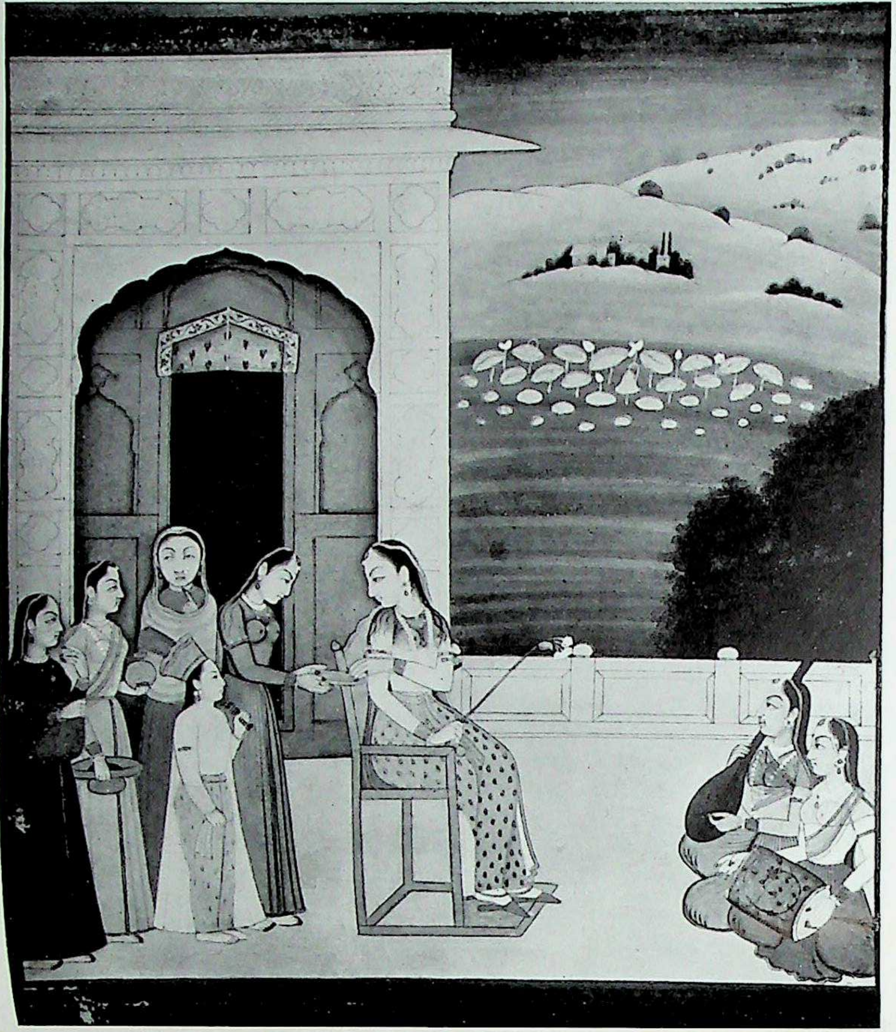
The painting in question (Fig. 62) was acquired from the dealer Radha Krishna Bharany in 1941 and even a cursory glance shows that it bears a quite unusual relationship to one



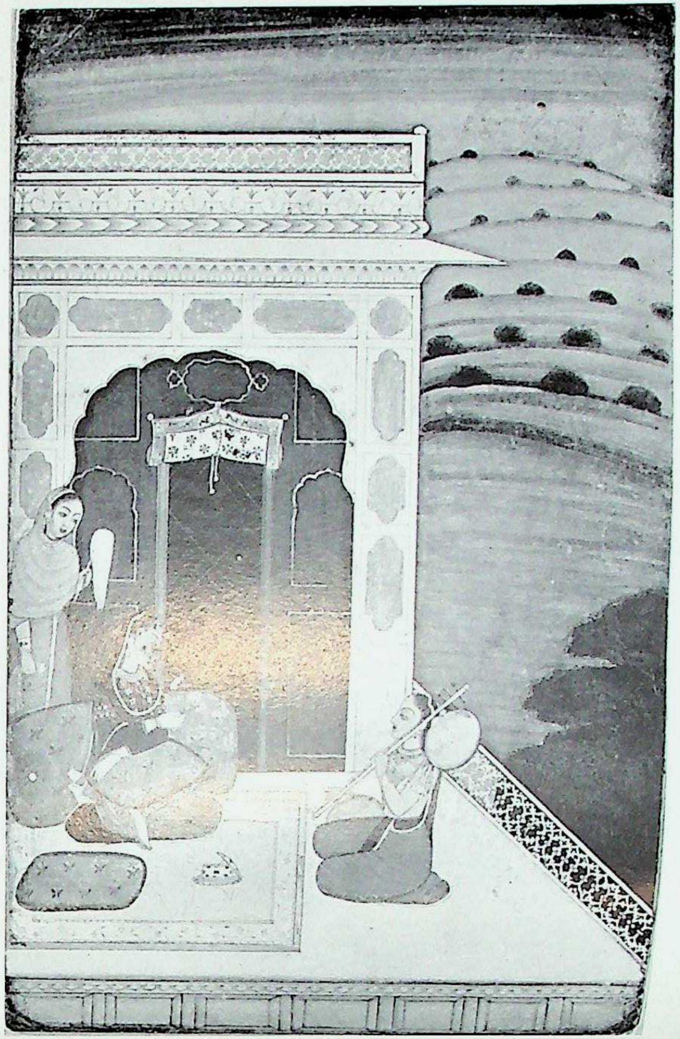
58. Awaiting the Lover. Punch, *c.* 1780.



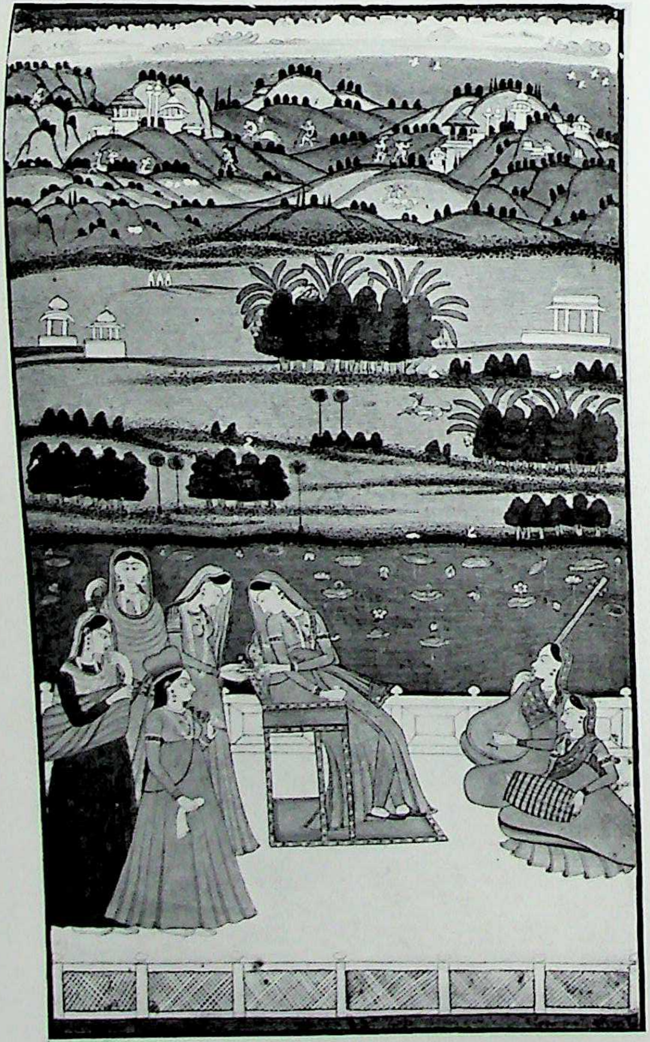
59. Lady on her Way to the Tryst. Punch, *c.* 1780.



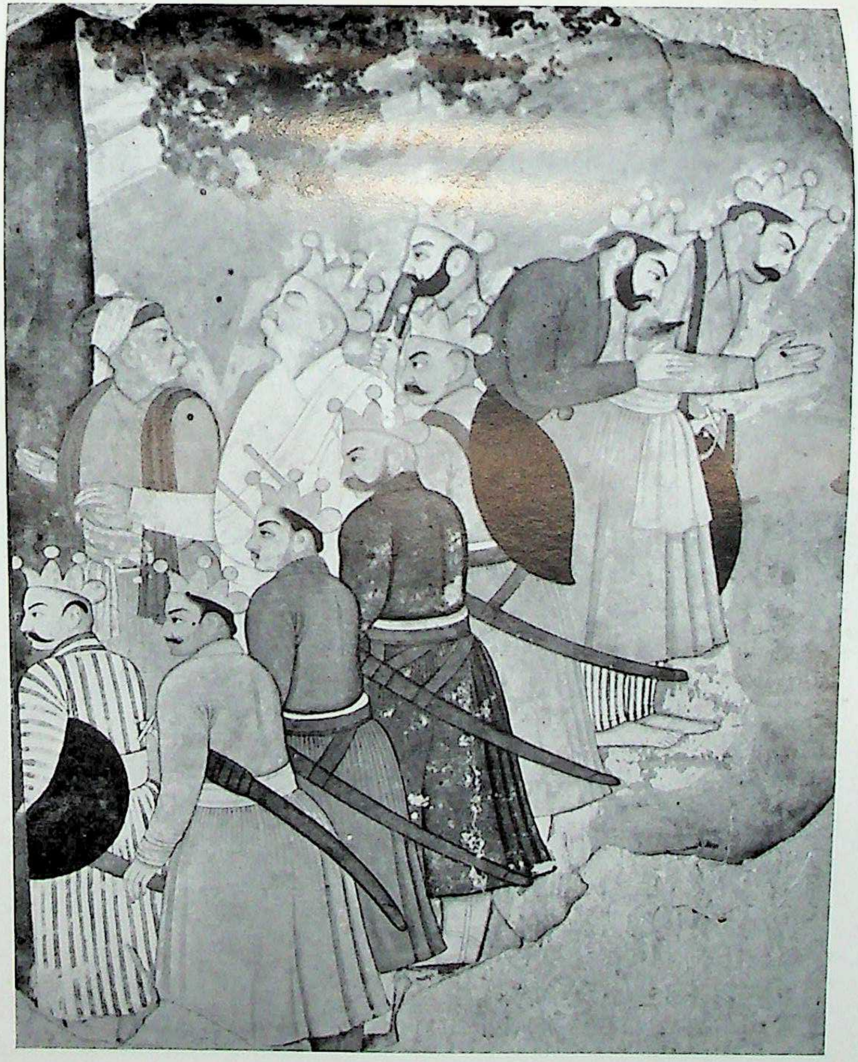
60. Lady on a Terrace. Punch, *c.* 1780.



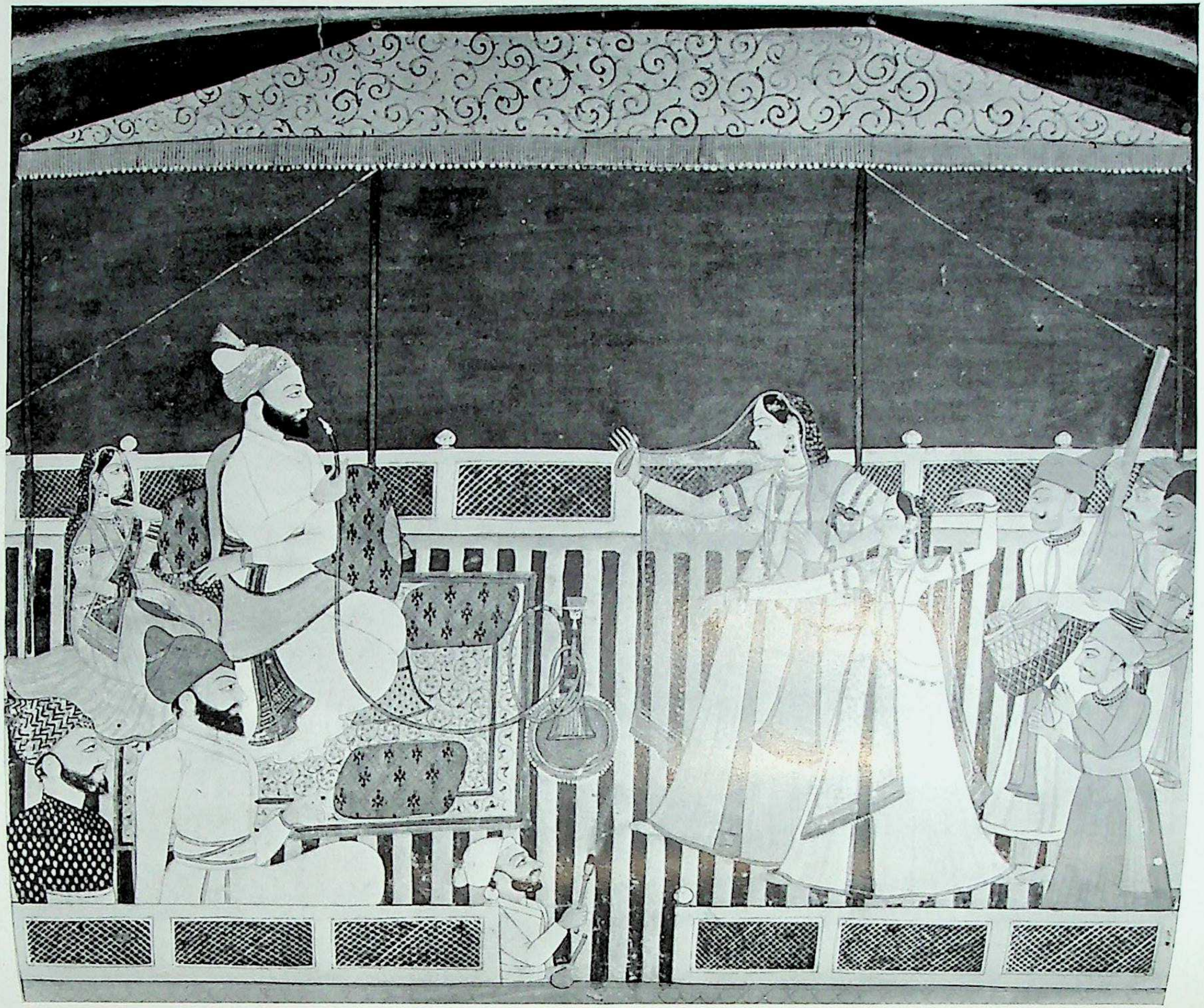
61. Lady seeking Solace. Punch, *c.* 1780.



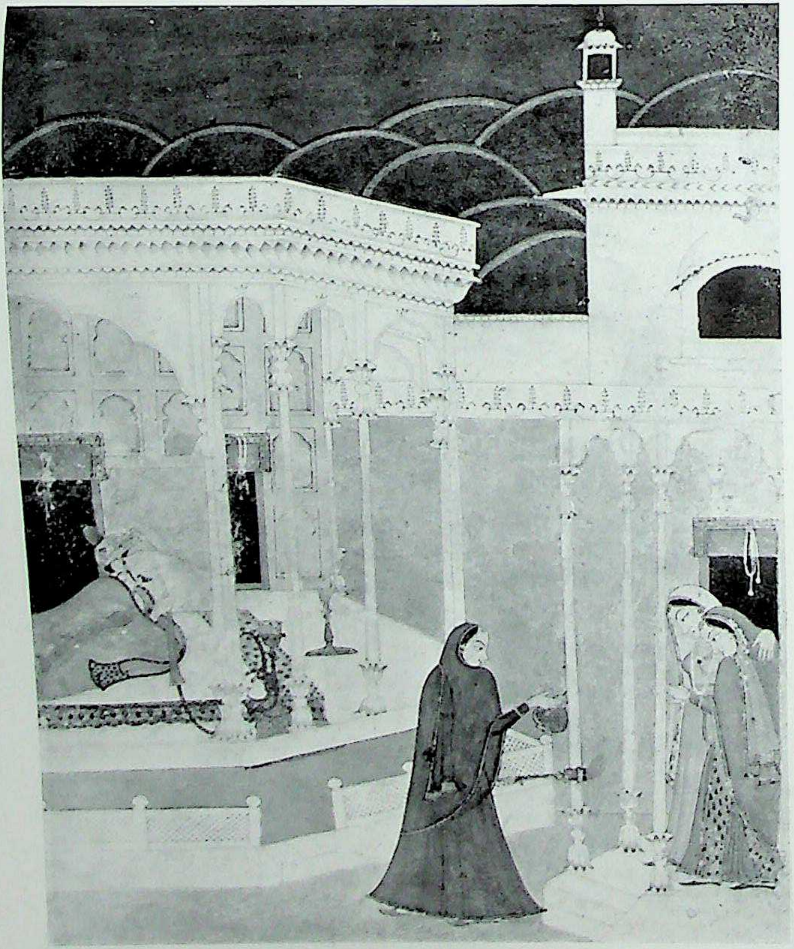
62. Lady on a Terrace. Punch, *c.* 1760.



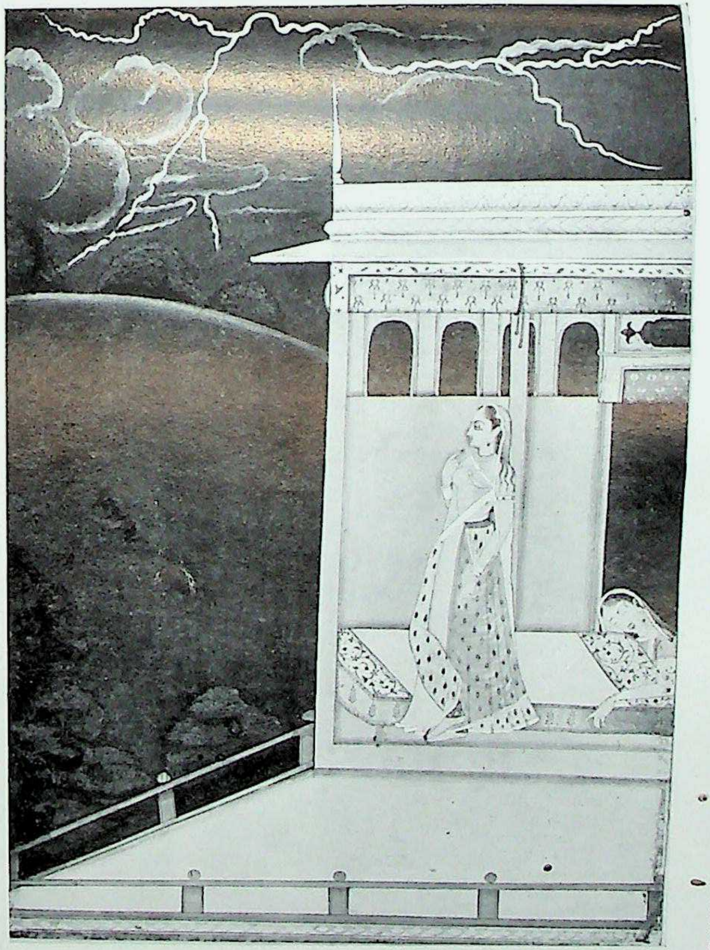
63. The Father of the Kauravas. Punch, *c.* 1770.



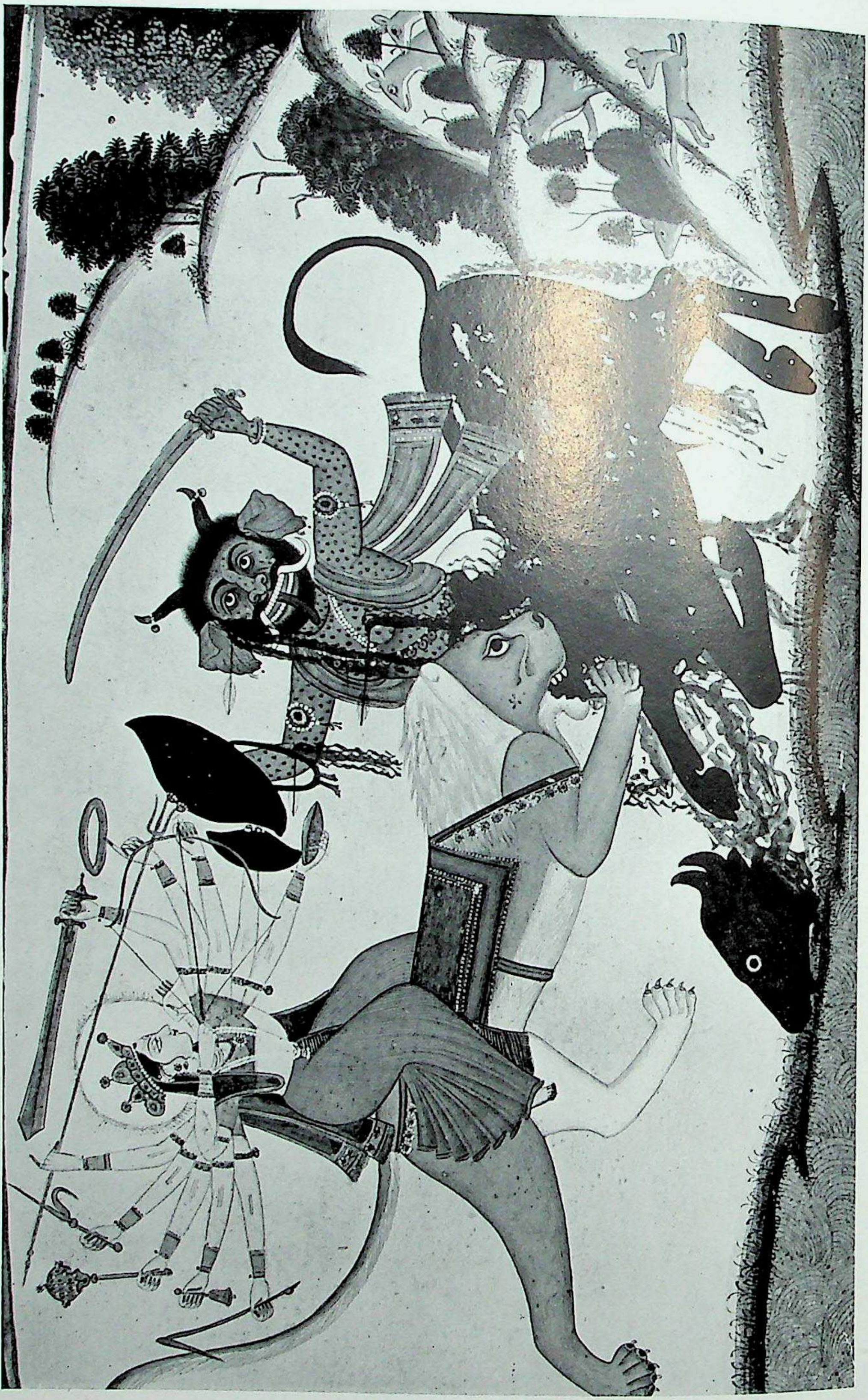
64. Ruler being entertained by Dancing-girls. *Punch, c.* 1750.



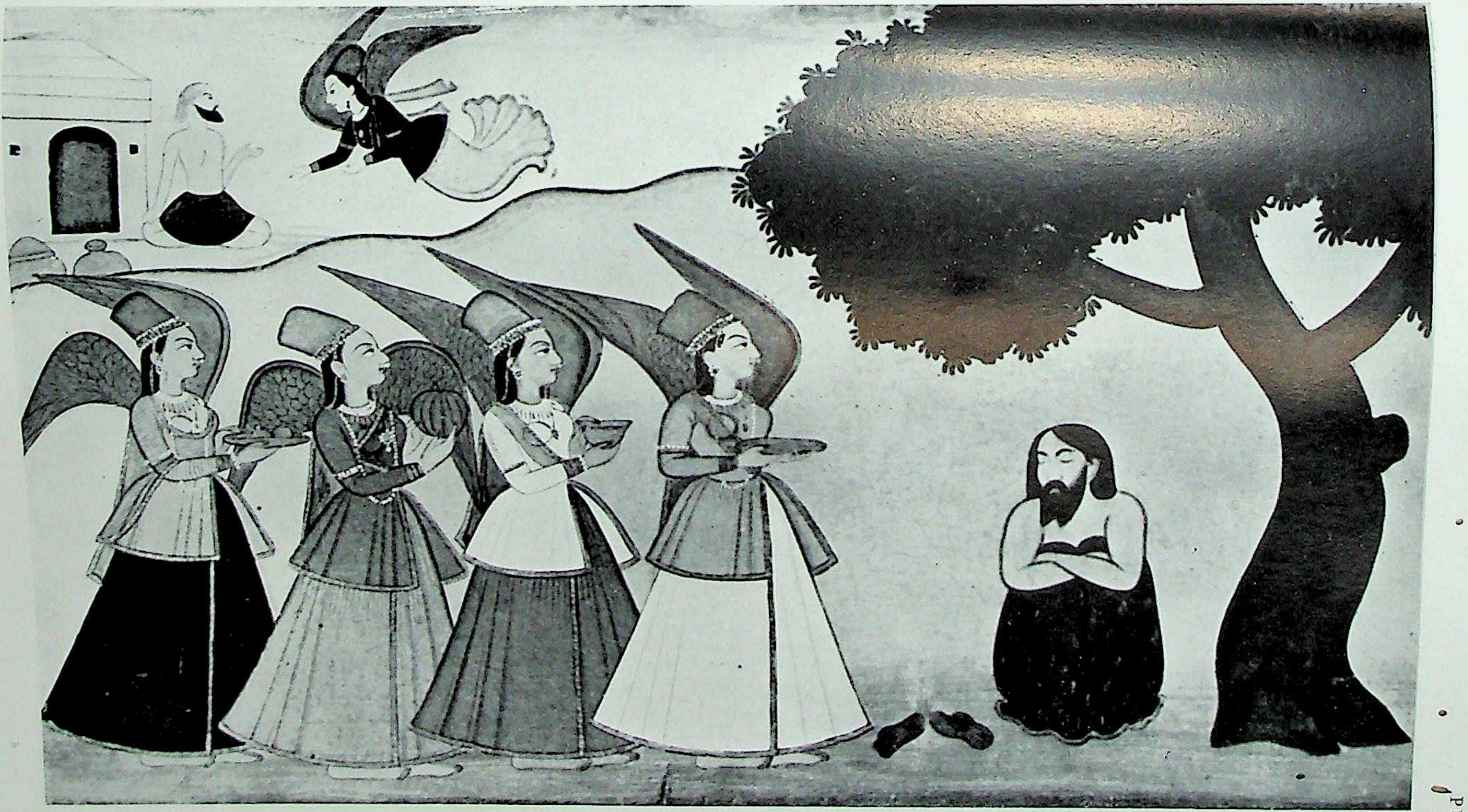
65. Lady being led to her Lover. Punch, *c.* 1770.



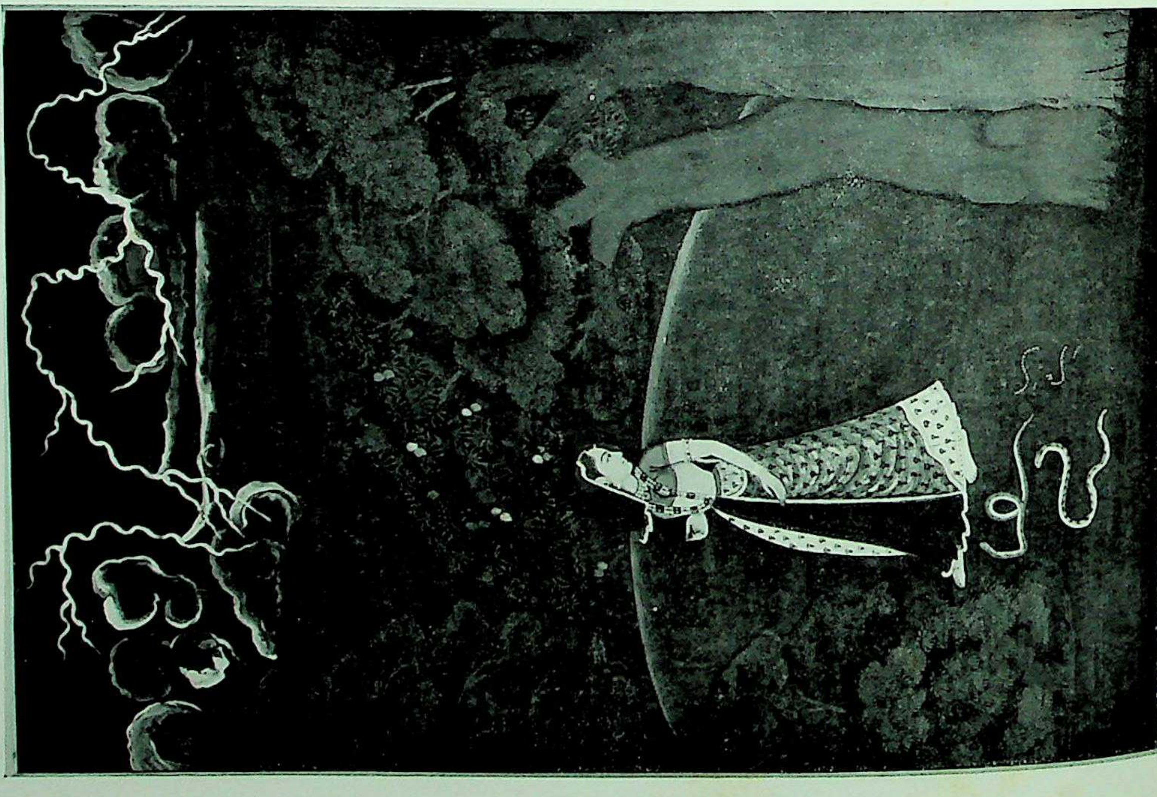
66. The Expectant Heroine. Punch, *c.* 1780.



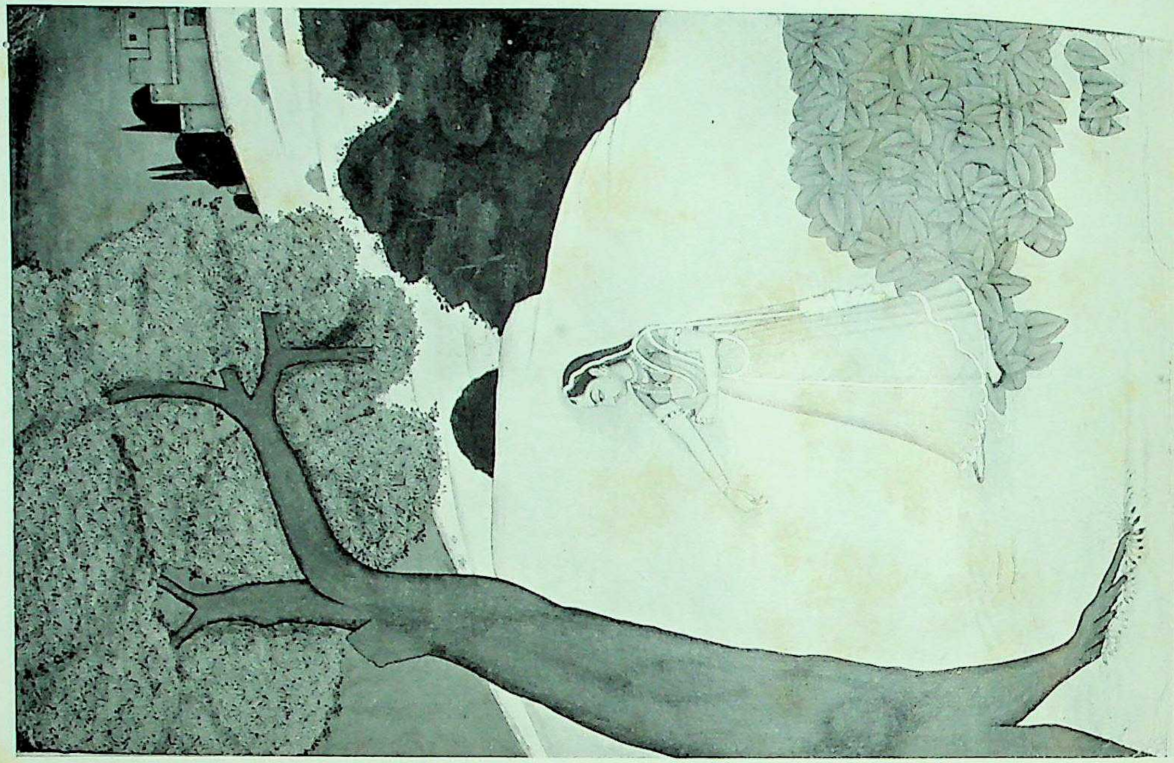
67. Durga slaying the Demon, Mahesasura. Punch, *c.* 1760.



68. Sultan Ibrahim Adham fed by Angels in the Wilderness. Punch, *c.* 1760.



69. Lady on her Way to the Tryst. Punch, *c.* 1780.



70. The Jilted Lady. Punch, *c.* 1780.

of the pictures procured in Punch and now in the Lahore Museum. This latter picture (Fig. 60) shows a lady seated on a tall chair with five maids standing beside her and two girls playing on the drum and sitar. Behind the party is a small pavilion backed by a lotus pond, while, in the distance, are gently sloping hills. A remarkable detail is that one of the maids wears a Muslim hat and although the style of the picture is, in other ways, not far removed from that of Guler this small detail at once brings it nearer to a Muhammadan tradition. The other study, Figure 62, is obviously the same picture but at a different stage of development. It shows a lady seated in the same posture, on a chair equally slim and tall, surrounded by maids in exactly similar stances. The maid depicted full face, the lady offering the dish and the maid clasping a pillow are all repeated while the girl in the Muslim hat re-appears as a taller figure, wearing equally Muslim head-gear and carrying precisely the same peacock fan and cloth. To the right appear two seated musicians, their pose and instruments identical with those in Figure 60. Even in the background affinities are also apparent for the lotus pond, the dipping hills and tiny houses are all repeated. So closely duplicated, in fact, are the general situation, the immediate foreground, the characters, the grouping and the general stances that either this picture is a descendant of Figure 60 or it is clearly a precursor. It can hardly be a descendant for one of its leading characteristics is the total absence of either Kangra or Guler idioms. Indeed its style is in every way distinct. The ladies with their high and rounded heads and sharply pointed noses, their stately figures and angular bell-like skirts comprise a clearly marked type, while the whole style of the colouring suggests precisely those points, local to Punch, to which we have already drawn attention. The lake is characterized by its pale blackness. Sage greens, dark reddish browns, a rich mauve and a deep intense green are included in the costumes, while hues of cold grey and blackish brown infuse the scalloped hills. Above all, we must note the general lack of depth and recession, for all the figures, the terrace, pond and hills are depicted in a single flat and shallow plane. Such a convention was usual in all the earlier forms of Pahari art but rapidly made way for a more three-dimensional treatment as Mughal influence tinged the local styles in the mid-eighteenth century. Bearing all these points in mind, we can hardly doubt that the picture is a true precursor of Figure 60 and hence an indication of Punch painting in its pre-Guler phase. One further piece of evidence clinches this conclusion for, set like a flicker of white amongst the central plantains, is an artist's Persian signature. This inscription runs—Rakham Jamil Musavar, 'By the painter, Jamil'. Such a Muslim name is without parallel in other Pahari pictures and its presence must therefore raise the presumption that the picture can only have been executed in a Muslim State. There is no other Muslim State within the Punjab Hills where such a development could have occurred. We can therefore conclude that Punch is indeed its source.

Such a conclusion opens up intriguing vistas for with this picture firmly identified, we need not hesitate to connect with Punch yet other pictures whose style suggests a similar origin. Figure 64, for example, is so closely similar to the early *Lady on the Terrace* that Punch appears its only possible provenance. A ruler is shown seated at night on a palace terrace toying with a hookah. Two courtiers and a lady sit beside him. A servant holds a torch and before them stand a pair of graceful dancers pirouetting to the accompaniment of four musicians. A pink carpet with dark blue stripes covers the terrace while a white canopy is stretched above the party protecting it from the night. Indeed so close in theme is this picture to the lady being beguiled by musicians that it is hardly surprising that a number of stylistic parallels are quickly apparent. The low balustrades are painted with the same white and grey hatching as in the *Lady on the Terrace*. The two dancing-girls have the same rounded brows, the sharply pointed noses and the high-waisted figures. In both pictures the long skirts swing sharply out while the thin veils are cut back with a peculiar angular sharpness. Even in colour the two paintings possess significant links for not only is there the same sombre richness of tone but even an overlapping of certain shades. The exquisite greyish blue skirt of the larger dancer is echoed in the veil of the maid who stands grasping a pillow. Reddish brown reappears in portions of the cushion which supports the ruler and in the sitar on the far right. The sky reveals the same combination of sullen red, dull white and sombre blue while the blackish grey of the background is the same as in the hills and lotus-pond. On the score of all these resemblances, therefore, the picture seems clearly of the same school.

Yet if this picture is a product of Punch, certain details suggest a source from which this early manner may possibly have been derived. If we compare it with Figures 51 and 54, both of which we have attributed to Jammu, we notice the same division of space into rectangles, the same use of a striped carpet, the same flatness of background while the male figures approximate with astonishing fidelity to some of the physical types. Even in minor details such as the cushion on which the ruler leans, there are close resemblances for its smooth grey base has identically the same blue patterning as the cushions in Figures 51 and 54. The presence of such common idioms can hardly be accidental and thus the picture, besides reinforcing our impressions of the early Punch style gives us also a valuable clue to its possible origins.

A second picture (Fig. 67) takes us yet another stage further. Unlike the paintings which we have so far considered, its subject is frankly Hindu, for it depicts the goddess Durga engaged in combat with the buffalo-demon, Mahesasura.(3) This painting has obvious affinities with the *Ruler and the Dancing Girls* for not only does the background possess the same stark simplicity, but the sky is indicated in the same summary fashion. The horizon is a curve of red, the sky a flash of sombre blue, the clouds a thin smear of troubled white. At the same time, Durga herself has features which closely resemble those of the lady seated with the ruler and although the forms display far greater animation, they are still interpreted as parts of a single flat plane. Yet clear as these affinities are, the picture bears an even stronger resemblance to the early *Lady on the Terrace*. With the exception of the turquoise blue in the torso of the demon and the dull crimson of its blood, the palette in both pictures is almost identical. Reddish brown reappears in Durga's skirt, sage green in the lion's saddle, blackish grey in the wounded buffalo while the vivid staring white of the terrace is here employed with astonishing audacity as a vivid background to the battle.

Even the dull brown which colours the charging lion and scampering deer is an echo of the brown border which surrounds the picture space in the *Lady on the Terrace* while the black of the demon's shield occurs again and again in the raven darkness of the ladies' hair. Equally striking parallels occur in other details. The edge of the water has the same hairy fringe, the demon's scarf the same angular swirl, while certain of the trees repeat the thin stalk-like idiom which so markedly characterizes the palms. Even the series of curves which indicate the landscape, thereby echoing the slashing rhythm of the swords, is only a simplification of the tumbled hillsides and the long meadows which appear in Figure 62. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this picture is also a product of the same artistic tradition.

But the possibilities of reconstruction are not yet exhausted for, in another picture, Figure 68, not only is the theme Muhammadan—the dervish Sultan Ibrahim Adham fed by angels in the wilderness(4)—but the same Muhammadan headgear is once again present. At the same time the whole picture is so close in general conception to *Durga and the Demon* that it might almost have been modelled on it. The faces of the angels approximate to the goddess's. The colours have the same dark richness, the background the same empty blankness, the landscape the same summary treatment. What is even more surprising—the actual compositions have a strange similarity. In both pictures, savage violent lines strain leftwards. The branches of the tree are depicted in a manner not unlike the legs and hooves of the buffalo while the wings of the angels are paralleled by the bent arms and knees of Durga and by the two swords. The left side of the tree even repeats the line of the buffalo while its long branch echoes the part played in the general structure by the demon's sword. When we recall that this Muslim theme was represented at other Muhammadan centres such as Lucknow but never, so far as is known, at Hindu courts in the Punjab Hills, there is little doubt that this is yet another example of Punch art.

One last picture (Fig. 65) throws some further light on the general influences which helped to mould this local style. The picture portrays a bashful lady being led at night to her waiting lover. The man reclines on a bed smoking a hookah while a maid servant indicates the way with outstretched torch. The lady herself is assisted by a go-between who has put her arm about her and is holding her by the hand. This picture is obviously a strange synthesis, for so reminiscent of Jammu are certain of its details that at first sight this would seem to be its only possible source. The soft dove-grey walls of the palace have precisely the Jammu quality of chilled pallor while the semicircular lines which serve as hills have the same distorted character as the geometric idioms of Figure 55. On the other hand, the structure of the building with its elaborate recessions is quite unlike the Jammu manner and indeed so far as architecture is concerned its nearest resemblance is with Guler or Kangra. Yet side by side with all these varied idioms are points which also suggest an origin in Punch. It is true that the picture as a whole lacks the rich colouring which is such a marked feature of Figures 62 and 64 but the steely blue of the sky, the sage green of the hills, the red of the matting, the vivid white of the terrace and, above all, the brown of the maid's dress can all be paralleled. Equally, the figure of the lover resembles in features and turban the courtiers of Figure 64 while more significant yet are the form and posture of the maid. Her long brown skirt swings out with the same angular grace as in the *Lady on the Terrace* while even her pose—of turning sharply round—occurs in four of our pictures. Above all the features of the three women are quite unlike those from Kangra, Guler, Jammu or Basohli and while not quite the same, are very close to the type which seems to be a special property of Punch. It is possible therefore that in this picture we have yet another example of Punch painting—though modified by even further Jammu influences.

With this picture we reach the end of our clues and we must now consider what broad conclusions are warranted. When we examine the 'early' pictures in the light of the 'later', the most impressive feature is their obvious relationship. The straining angular tree of Figure 70, for example, is clearly a survival of the motif occurring in *Sultan Ibrahim fed by angels in the wilderness*, while its staring white background has an earlier counterpart in *Durga and the Demon*. The sombre blackness of Figures 59 and 66 reflects the same pre-occupation with darkness as in the *Ruler and the Dancing Girls*. The rim-like treatment of the hills in Figures 58, 61, 66 and 69—more rigid and formal than in Guler painting—has its parallel in the sharp hillsides of *Durga and the Demon* and the early *Lady on the Terrace*. In spite, therefore, of the Guler elements which seem to have affected it about the years 1770–80, painting in Punch throughout the later eighteenth century continued to express a local spirit. With the Sikh conquest of 1813, however, this situation was revolutionized and the local style came abruptly to an end. As we know from Mr French, a provincial Kangra style makes its appearance on the palace walls sometime after 1820 and just as the Sikhs appear to have diffused the Jammu style in the second half of the eighteenth century, we can only assume that they were also instrumental in spreading the Kangra style of Raja Sansar Chand. The loss of political independence seems, in fact, to have been the prime factor which brought the local style of painting to an end. Such a development need not greatly surprise us for, if there is any one factor which seems to account for the complex welter of local styles throughout the Punjab Hills, it is the ability of art to interpret and sustain a sense of local pride. We have seen how in major States such as Kangra and Chamba, political prestige stood high. Yet it was in precisely these two regions that a foreign style was most successfully adopted. We must therefore conclude that the more powerful the State the less immediately significant was the exact style of its art. In smaller States, on the other hand—and this must surely apply as much to Guler as to Punch—dynastic jealousies were all the stronger because of their necessary repression. Domination of other territories was impracticable and styles of art thus acquired a heightened importance as compensations for lack of feudal glory. This, at any rate, would seem to be the vital factor which in the second half of the eighteenth century unified the Muhammadan court of Punch with its Hindu capital and thus brought into being a type of painting distinctive in its sombre richness and sharp expressive forms.

NOTES

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The following States are included, by convention, in the 'Punjab Hills':

(1) a group lying west of the river Ravi and comprising:

1. Akhnur
2. Bandhralta
3. Basohli
4. Bhadrawah
5. Bhadu
6. Bhau
7. Bhimbar
8. Bhoti
9. Chanehni
10. Dalpatpur
11. Jammu
12. Jasrota
13. Kashtwar
14. Khari-Khariyali
15. Kotli
16. Lakhanpur
17. Mankot
18. Punch
19. Rajaori
20. Riasi
21. Samba
22. Tirikot

(2) a group lying farther east and including:

1. Bangahal
2. Bilaspur
3. Chamba
4. Datarpur
5. Guler
6. Jaswan
7. Kangra
8. Kotla
9. Kutlehr
10. Kulu
11. Mandi
12. Nurpur
13. Shahpur
14. Siba
15. Suket
16. Tehri Garhwal

2. For the history of Kangra State and the careers of Ghamand Chand, Tegh Chand, and Sansar Chand, see J. Hutchinson and J. P. Vogel. *History of the Punjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933) I, 99–198; *Punjab District Gazetteers: Kangra District* (Lahore, 1926) 45–114; G. C. Barnes and J. B. Lyall, *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District* (Lahore, 1889) 1–15; W. Moorcroft, *Travels in the Himalaya Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab*, edited by H. H. Wilson (London, 1837) 107–82; and Ghulam Muhai-ud-din, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (quoted Hutchinson and Vogel, I, 181).

For evidence of Sansar Chand's artistic interests and his employment of artists, Moorcroft's account is of quite exceptional importance.

3. The portrait of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba with his Rani (Fig. 34) was presented to the Louvre collection, Musée Guimet, Paris in 1905 by M. Soldi Colbert (I. Stchoukine, *Les Miniatures Indiennes de l'époque des grands Moghols au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1929) 75–6). It is identical in style and content with a painting presented by Raja Shyam Singh to

Ujfalvy, the Hungarian anthropologist, at Chamba in 1881 and illustrated in K. E. von Ujfalvy, *Aus Westlichen Himalaya* (Leipzig, 1884) 91. There can be little doubt that these two pictures are the same. Ujfalvy also states that among the miniatures shown to him by Raja Shyam Singh were a number which dated from the end of the eighteenth century, some of which the raja gave him. 'I was much moved' he says 'by the picture of Raj Singh of Chamba with his ladies. It is one of the most delicate miniatures I have ever seen'. I am greatly indebted to Dr C. von Fürer-Haimendorf for interpreting for me Ujfalvy's German text.

4. Only four portraits of Ghamand Chand (1751–74) are, so far, known to exist. One of them, numbered D.XII, in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, was obtained by exchange from the Central Museum, Lahore and has a Nagari inscription—'Katoch Raja Ghumand Chand' (J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, (Calcutta, 1909) 29–30). A second, numbered D-82, is in the Central Museum, Lahore, and a third in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The latter picture portrays 'Sri Rae Teg Chand and Sri Raja Ghamand Chand seated conversing, the latter smoking, a hawk between them'. The names, as noted, are inscribed in Nagari characters and Coomaraswamy stresses the particularly 'pale colours' (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Part V, Rajput Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926) 238). The fourth portrait (Fig. 53) is in the Maharaja of Lambagaon's family collection where it was photographed by Mr J. C. French. It obviously bears a close resemblance to the Boston example and like that picture is almost certainly a product, not of the main Kangra style, but of the Jammu-Sikh style which seems to have been spreading at about this time (*vide* pp. 69–70).

5. For a suggested 'reconstruction' of the history of Kangra painting, see the following contributions by Dr H. Goetz to the *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery*—'Raja Iswari Sen of Mandi and the History of Kangra Painting' (II, 1944–5, 35–7), 'An early Basohli-Chamba Rumal' (III, Pt I, 1945–6, 35–42), and 'A Muslim Painting of the Kangra School' (III, Pt II, 1946, 41–5). Dr Goetz's suggestions are largely based on the assumption that political ascendency *ipso facto* carried with it artistic developments. But there is no reason to suppose that this was actually or invariably the case and Dr Goetz nowhere cites actual examples of paintings either to illustrate his thesis or to support and prove his conclusions.

6. J. C. French (*Himalayan Art* (London, 1931), 101) gives the names of four artists—Nandu, Huzuri, Gulabu Ram and Lachman Das—who were still at work when he visited Kangra in 1929.

7. See Hirananda Sastri, 'The Hamir-Hath', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XVI (1917) 35–41, where the twenty-one paintings in this set are illustrated and their colophon(?) is paraphrased.

8. *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1918–19, Pt 1, 31.

9. Figure 6 is discussed by Hirananda Sastri in *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book-Illustrations* (Baroda, 1936) 8–9 (pl. VI), where the colophon is also given. Sastri adds that the manuscript, entitled *Chittarasamanjari*, consisted of 130 stanzas, each of which was illustrated by an appropriate picture on the reverse. He states that further pictures from the series were known to dealers as 'Tibeti', that some are illustrated in *Rupam* and *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* while others are in the Central Museum, Lahore. An example from the Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, is reproduced as Figure 7.

10. The Rothenstein picture (Fig. 9) is not itself dated but is so close in style as almost certainly to belong to the same series. The examples in the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, referred to in the text, were originally collected by Mr Eric Dickinson. A colophon on one of them states that they were made for Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli by the painter Devayani in 1695.

11. See Karl Khandalawala, 'A Review of B. Gray, Rajput Painting', *Marg*, III, Pt 2, 53, correcting a statement by N. C. Mehta, 'A New Document of Gujarati Painting', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIII (1945), where Manaku is described as a lady artist actually responsible for the painting of the miniatures instead of as the artist's patron.

12. Ajit Ghose, 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting' *Rupam*, No. 37, 1929, 5–17.

13. For the school of Tehri Garhwal, see N. C. Mehta, 'The Court Art of Tehri Garhwal', *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926) 47–61; Mukandi Lal, 'Some Notes on Mola Ram', *Rupam*, No. 8, 1921, 22–3, 'The Pahari (Himalayan) School of Indian Painting and Mola Ram's place in it', Roopa-Lekha, No. 1, 1929, 24–35 and No. 3, 1929, 34–9; and B. Gray, 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950), 103.

14. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting* (London, 1916), I (text), II (plates).

15. There is no exact equivalent in English for the word 'Sri'—the word 'Hon'ble' being perhaps the nearest parallel.

II. PAINTING IN GULER

1. The circumstances which led to the founding of Guler are described by Hutchinson and Vogel (op. cit., I, 134–5) as follows:

'A few years after Timur's invasion, Hari Chand succeeded to the throne of Kangra (*c.* 1405). The country to the south of Kangra was then dense jungle with probably few inhabitants and it seems to have been the hunting ground of the Kangra rajas. One day the Raja set out with his retinue on a hunting expedition in the direction of Harsar, now in Guler State, and in the course of the hunt he somehow got separated from the party and fell into a well or deep pit. Believing that he had fallen a victim to some wild beast, the officials returned to the capital, where the Raja's funeral obsequies were duly performed, even his ranis becoming *sati*. His younger brother, Karm Chand, was then installed in his room in the absence of a direct heir and Hari Chand was regarded as dead. He, however, was still alive and after twenty-two days was discovered by a passing merchant and rescued. On hearing what had taken place in Kangra he decided not to return to the capital and selecting a site near the junction of three rivers, he founded the fort and town of Haripur and established an independent State. The story illustrates a fixed principle of succession to Hindu chiefships, viz., that an heir-apparent once designated or a Raja once enthroned, cannot be deprived of his dignity. Thus the elder brother ruled at Haripur and the younger held the hereditary kingdom of the Katoch family at Kangra. But down to the present time Guler takes precedence of Kangra on all ceremonial occasions, and the Raja of Guler is the first Viceregal Darbari in the Kangra District.'

2. For a reproduction of *Bikram Singh on an Elephant*, see J. C. French, 'Guler Art', *Art and Letters*, XXIV (1950), 32.

3. Facts concerning Guler and its Rajas have been drawn from Hutchinson and Vogel, op. cit., I, 199–207.

The dates of Gobardhan Singh—*c.* 1730–73—have been arrived at by correcting Hutchinson and Vogel (I, 206) in the light of S. N. Gupta, *A Catalogue of the Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (p. 61). The former writers state: 'Govardhan Singh, *c.* 1730—Govardhan Singh had a quarrel with Adina Beg Khan, Governor of the Jalandhar Doab, about a horse which the Raja refused to give up. He probably had a long reign but no records have come down to us.' Gupta, on the other hand, states unequivocally that Gobardhan Singh died in 1773.

4. Ajit Ghose, op. cit., 9.

5. J. C. French, *Himalayan Art*, 52.

6. Of the fourteen early Guler illustrations to the *Ramayana*, twelve are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Boston Catalogue*, V, 78–82, Plates X–XV; *Rajput Painting*, II, Plates XXI (colour), XXII and XXIII); a thirteenth in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Coomaraswamy, *Boston Catalogue*, V, 79) and the fourteenth in the J. C. French collection. This last picture was originally obtained from Ajit Ghose and is reproduced in colour in *Himalayan Art* (frontispiece).

7. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, I, 17; II, Plates XXI–XXIII.

8. Ajit Ghose, op. cit., 9.

9. S. N. Gupta, op. cit. I am informed by Mr Gupta that in the case of paintings labelled Guler and Punch, provenance is implied by these ascriptions.

10. For the myth of Durga, see Abinas Chandra Das and S. N. Gupta, 'The Goddess Durga', *The Modern Review*, Oct. 1913, 387–96. Durga is said to pervade the universe and to be co-extensive with creation but at the same time to manifest herself on special occasions in order to help the Devas or gods in the performance of their work. Some of these manifestations are recorded in the *Markandeya Purana* to which Figures 26 and 28 are

illustrations. On one occasion, Durga came to the Devas' rescue and after a fierce fight, defeated the Asuras or forces of evil and killed their leader, Mahesasura. This incident is illustrated by Figure 67 (Punch). On another occasion, two Asuras had become so powerful that the Devas had again to ask for Durga's help. They went to the Himalayas and began to sing her praises (Fig. 28). Durga passed by on her way to the Ganges and enquired whom they were worshipping. On this a beautiful girl emerged from her body and said 'It is me whom they are worshipping'. The girl who came to be known as Kausiki then killed the Asuras and reinstated the Devas. Durga, after Kausiki's emergence, was known for the time being as Kalika, both Kalika and Kausiki being aspects of the same divinity. The emergence of Kausiki is depicted in Figure 26.

11. H. Goetz, 'Die Indischen Miniaturen der Sammlung William Rothenstein, London', *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1925), 51–2. I am greatly indebted to Mr Douglas Barrett for elucidating for me Dr Goetz's text.

12. Another example of the style represented by Figures 14 and 15, but evidently of a somewhat later date, is reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 114.

13. Two further Guler pictures in a style reminiscent of Figures 26 and 29 are reproduced by J. C. French, (*Himalayan Art*, Plates VI and VII) from originals in the Raja of Guler's collection.

14. The picture, *The Gods in Vishnu's Heaven*, has already been the subject of some discussion. When first published by Coomaraswamy (*Rajput Painting*, II, pl XLIV), it was attributed to 'the early Kangra school of the seventeenth and eighteenth century'. Dr Goetz, on the other hand, writing in 1925, dated it 1740 and while considering it to be Pahari, pointed out that its general style was not unlike that of contemporary schools in Rajputana. He described the technique of its drawing as Mughal but emphasized that in other respects such as the vertical grouping of the forms, their arrangement in flat planes, the avoidance of petty detail, the emphasis on line and a predilection for the monumental, it was quite un-Mughal. (Goetz, ibid., 50). More recently, Mr Basil Gray has reproduced the picture in colour and discussed it as follows. 'In this painting is to be seen the fine technical tradition of draughtmanship which became available at many of the Rajput courts when Mughal patronage waned with the decline of the empire. But there is no attempt to introduce chiaroscuro or spatial composition as is to be found in some Rajput paintings for a short time round this date (1750) especially at Jaipur and Jodhpur. This painting should therefore be attributed to some other centre.' Mr Gray then held that the picture was of the Plains and not the Punjab Himalayas and suggested that Dr Goetz might wish to keep his date of 1740 but change the provenance to Rajputana (B. Gray, *Rajput Painting* (London, 1949), 12–3). Mr Gray has since informed me that Dr Goetz still considers the painting to be Pahari and that instead of changing the provenance he would now be inclined to date it 1760. For the reasons given in the text, however, it is now suggested that the picture's actual provenance is Guler and its date about the year 1765.

15. Two further pictures seem to fall in the same category as the *Gods in Vishnu's Heaven*

and the *Lady with the Hawk*. In Figure 18, where Krishna is shown lying on a bed with two girls languidly fanning him, the facial and physical types so closely resemble those in Figure 17 that when the picture was first published (*Rajput Painting*, II, Plate XLIV), Coomaraswamy reproduced it side by side with details of the dancing girls. The second picture (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 92 (458)) depicts a lady seated on a stool feeding a pet buck. Here the architectural details, the cypresses, the symbolic imagery as also the facial types all suggest a Guler painting of the 1760–70 period.

16. O. C. Gangoly, *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926), 81, Plate XXXVIII.

17. Collection, W. G. Archer.

18. J. P. Vogel, op. cit., 14.

19. The subsequent course of Guler painting, in the nineteenth century, is still a matter for surmise. That painting persisted is proved by Ajit Ghose's reference to Guler as, by tradition, 'a most important centre of Kangra art almost down to the time of the late Raja Raghunath Singh (1884–1920)'. Mr J. C. French also includes in his article on 'Guler Art' two reproductions of pictures which are almost certainly Guler products. In both these cases, the style is predominantly 'Kangra' but until other examples are published, it will be difficult to determine how far the later Guler style exactly paralleled the later Kangra, whether it developed other independent characters and whether or to what extent, it retained 'pre-Kangra' features.

20. Hutchinson and Vogel, op. cit., I, 314–19.

21. Ibid., I, 181.

III. PAINTING IN JAMMU

1. For a general history of Jammu State, see Hutchinson and Vogel, op. cit., II, 514–63.

2. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916) I, 17–19.

3. Hutchinson and Vogel, op. cit., II, 540. 'Raja Dhrub Dev had four sons—Ranjit Dev, Ghansar Dev, Surat Singh and Balwant Singh.'

4. See also B. Gray, 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 130, where, however, the subject is unidentified.

The reference to the arrival of Mir Mannu at Lahore is not in itself any indication of where Nainsukh normally painted. We know that the Afghans (or Pathans) were assisted by Jammu against the Mughals but were defeated at Sirhind. It was as a reward for this victory that the Mughal general, Mir Mannu, was appointed Viceroy of Lahore and only after peace had been made did he arrive in the city to take up his duties. It is possible that the Jammu Raja, then at peace with the Mughals, sent a representative to attend the installation and if this is so, Raja Balwant Singh, as youngest brother, may well have been chosen for the role and thus have been in Lahore when Mir Mannu arrived. It also seems possible that, following the usual practice, Nainsukh, if he was, in fact, Raja Balwant Singh's retained artist, may have accompanied his patron to Lahore and prepared the picture for presentation to a friend or visitor—an assumption which seems borne out by the reference in the endorsement to the 'behest of a certain Umrao'. The short space of three days in which he executed the picture would certainly suggest that he was making a rapid version of a well-known subject rather than a totally new portrait and this is borne out by the fact that a study of substantially the same picture exists in the British Museum (No. 1948–10–9–0130). This latter picture is also inscribed in Takri with Raja Balwant Singh's name and shows the same raja listening to a party of seated musicians—the female members of which have faces almost identical with those in Figure 35.

5. For references to a family of artists whose portraits have been preserved, see S. N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, 64–5. The artists represented include Pandit Seu, Manak (his eldest son), Khushala (son of Manak) and Kama, Gauhu, Nikka and Ram Lal (all sons of Manak's second son, Nainsukh). There is, unfortunately, no portrait of Nainsukh himself in the Central Museum, Lahore, and although it is possible that a self-portrait appears in Figure 36 where an artist is shown presenting Balwant Singh with a picture, we cannot be sure that this is Nainsukh himself. We have, therefore, no present means of knowing whether the Nainsukh who was father of four artist sons was the same Nainsukh who painted our pictures. A possible portrait, inscribed 'Pandit Nainsukh Musavir', however, is reproduced in *Rūpam* 37 (January, 1929) 63 and this bears a striking resemblance to the artist portrayed in Fig. 36.

6. The reference to Brij Raj Dev as Mian precludes any date later than 1781 since, if the picture had been painted after his accession, he would doubtless have been designated as 'Raja'. The converse, however, does not necessarily follow since a junior member (Mian) of a royal house was sometimes termed 'Raja' by way of courtesy.

7. The inscription, as Mr Gray justly remarks (ibid., 137) is 'hard to decipher'. I am satisfied however, from my own attempts at reading that it certainly does not contain the name of any ruler while Dr Moti Chandra to whom Dr V. S. Agrawala kindly referred the point remarks that 'the inscription apparently speaks of a Dayalpur horse shown in torchlight by servants. The technical terms seem to refer to the horse.'

8. See Hutchinson and Vogel, op. cit., I, 311.

9. For a discussion of this portrait of Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra (Fig. 53), see 'Introduction', Note 4.

10. J. C. French, 'Sansar Chand of Kangra', *Indian Art and Letters*, XXI (1947), 89–91.

IV. PAINTING IN PŪNCH

1. For the history of Punch State, see Hutchinson and Vogel, op. cit., II, 698–724.

2. I am greatly indebted to Mr J. C. French for supplying me with this oral information.

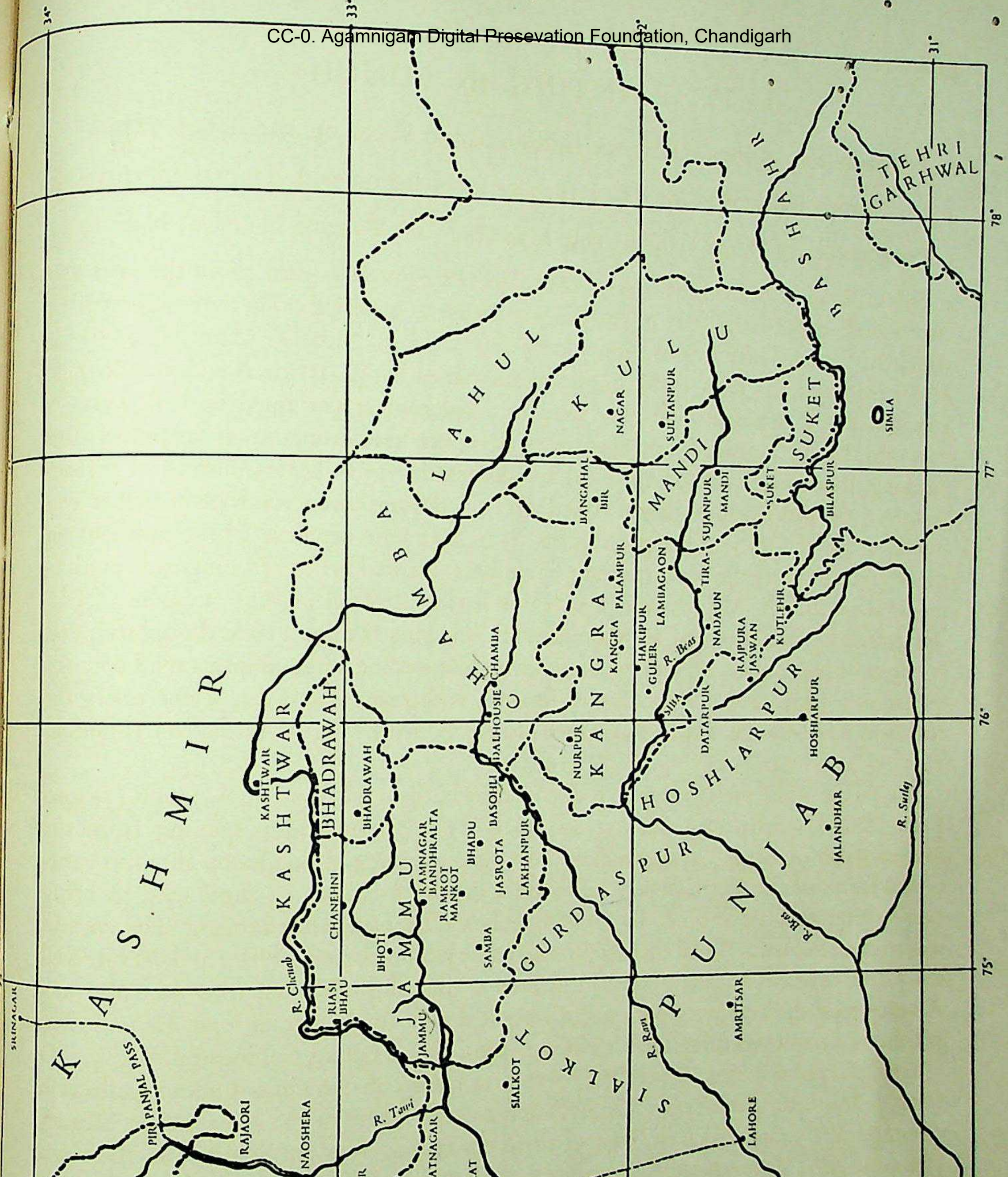
3. For the story of Durga's conflict with Mahesasura, see 'Painting in Guler', Note 10.

4. Sultan Ibrahim Adham, of Balkh—the subject of Figure 68—died about the year 880 after spending the latter part of his life wandering as a dervish. The circumstances in which he assumed the role are graphically recounted in Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (Mogul India 1653–1708), translated and edited by W. Irvine (London, 1907) II, 469. Ibrahim, it appears, could only sleep in a bedchamber perfumed with flowers. A slave-girl, having massaged him, chanced to doze, her head dropping on his pillow. On awaking, Ibrahim was greatly affronted and ordered her to be beaten. Instead of crying, however, the girl began to laugh. Asked why she did not weep, she replied that it was owing to the absurdity of her punishment. 'If to have leant her head a little moment on the royal bed, where the perfumes induced slumber, merited her undergoing such punishment, what did his Majesty not deserve for having slept all his life on such a bed?' 'Influenced by such a reproach,' Manucci adds, 'the king became a little thoughtful, and at once tore his raiment, renounced his queen and his son and went off into a wild country to live as a fakir.' For a biography of Ibrahim with many anecdotes, Irvine refers the reader to Farid-ud-din Attar, *Tadhkiratul-Awliya*, edited by R. A. Nicholson (London, 1905) 85–106.

The theme of the present picture is discussed by H. Beveridge and V. A. Smith (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909 (2), 751 and 1910 (1), 167). Beveridge, quoting from the *Siyarul-Aqtab* of Allah Diyah, explains how after resigning his kingdom, Ibrahim came to the banks of the Tigris. There he found a dervish to whom an angel used to bring every evening a plate of food. To Ibrahim, as he sat, ten plates were brought. The dervish was envious and complained that Ibrahim had only recently become a fakir and yet received ten plates, whereas he, the dervish, had been a fakir all his life but received only one. A voice replied, 'You were poor and always had difficulty in getting food. He was rich, yet threw away everything for love of me. Ten plates is but a small recompense.'

Smith, supplementing Beveridge, refers to a picture in Sir Elijah Impey's collection (British Museum, Add. 11747, folio 30) and to two others in the India Office Library (Johnson VI, 5 and XIV, 1). Two of these depict only four angels while in the third (Johnson XIV, 1) seven angels are shown—five standing, two flying. A fourth picture, inscribed 'Sultan Ibrahim Adham' in Persian, is in the Edinburgh University Library (374–11) and I am deeply indebted to Mr C. P. Finlayson, Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts, for aiding me in its identification.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Prosevation Foundation, Chandigarh


KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
PUNCH
PUNCH
KOTLI
PIR PANJAL PASS
RAJAORI
NAOSHERA
BHIMBAR
R. Jhelum
R. Tawi
DAULATNAGAR
GUJRAT
R. Chenab
SIALKOT
SIALKOT
JAMMU
JAMMU
RIASI
BHAU
R. Chenab
KASHTWAR
KASHTWAR
BHADRAWAH
BHADRAWAH
CHANEHNI
BHOTI
RAMNAGAR
BANDHRALTA
RAMKOT
MANKOT
SAMBA
BHADU
JASROTA
BASOHLI
LAKHANPUR
DALHOUSIE
CHAMBA
CHAMBA
LAHUL
KULU
NAGAR
SULTANPUR
BANGAHAL
BIR
PALAMPUR
MANDI
SUJANPUR
MANDI
TIRA
LAMBAGAON
KANGRA
KANGRA
HARIPUR
GULER
R. Beas
NADAUN
RAJPURA
JASWAN
KUTLEHR
SIBA
DATARPUR
NURPUR
HOSHIARPUR
HOSHIARPUR
GURDASPUR
PUNJAB
JALANDHAR
R. Sutlej
R. Beas
R. Ravi
AMRITSAR
LAHORE
SUKET
SUKET
BILASPUR
SIMLA
BASHAHR
TEHRI GARHWAL
34°
33°
32°
31°
74°
75°
76°
77°
78°

INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Numbers in italics denote references in the text.

FIGURE PAGE

Frontispiece. The Lady with the Hawk. Guler, *c.* 1760. Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 178–1950). *41–43, 90* .. .. ..

1. The Gathering Storm. Kangra, *c.* 1800. Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares. *6, 41* .. 7

2. The Milkmaids begging back their Clothes from Krishna. Illustration to the *Bhagavata Purana*. Kangra, *c.* 1785. J. K. Modi Collection, Bombay. *6* 8

3. Palace Lady with her Maids. Kangra, *c.* 1790. Victoria and Albert Museum (I.M. 4–1912). *6, 42* 9

4. Krishna rescuing the sleeping Nanda. Illustration to the *Bhagavata Purana*. J. K. Modi Collection, Bombay. *6, 43* 10

5. Durga enthroned in a Pavilion, with Gods and Musicians attending. Basohli, *c.* 1695. Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmadabad. *6, 19* 11

6. Krishna approaching Radha's Chamber. Illustration to a *Chittarasamanjari*. Basohli, dated 1695. From a series by Devidasa. After Hirananda Sastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book-Illustrations*, Pl. VI. *15, 19, 87* 12

7. Krishna dispatching a Message, while Radha waits. To the right, a Jester. Illustration to a *Chittarasamanjari*. Basohli, 1695. From the same series by Devidasa. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 121–1951). *15, 19* 12

8. Radha disconsolate. Illustration to a *Chittarasamanjari*. Basohli, dated 1695. From a series by Devayani. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. *15, 19, 87* 13

9. Radha preparing the Chamber for Krishna. Illustration to a *Chittarasamanjari*. Basohli, 1695. From the same series by Devayani. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 118–1951). *15, 19, 87* .. 13

FIGURE PAGE

10. Krishna awaiting Radha who approaches with a Friend. Illustration to the *Gita Gobinda*. Basohli, from a series dated 1730. Central Museum, Lahore. *15, 19, 20* .. 14

11. Rama encamped before Lanka. Illustration to the *Ramayana*. Guler, *c.* 1720. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *19, 20, 37–41, 88* .. 21

12. The Siege of Lanka. Illustration to the *Ramayana*. Guler, *c.* 1720. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *19, 20, 37–41, 88* 21

13. Ravana tempting Sita. Detail from an illustration to the *Ramayana*. Guler, *c.* 1720. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *19, 20, 37–41, 88* 22

14. The Unveiling of Draupadi. Illustration to the *Mahabharata*. Guler, *c.* 1730. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 131–1951). *38, 41* 23

15. The Arrival of the Chariot. Illustration to the *Mahabharata*. Guler, *c.* 1730. J. C. French Collection, Worthing. *37, 38, 41* 23

16. Raja Gobardhan Singh of Guler (*c.* 1730–1773) listening to Music. Guler, dated 1743. Raja of Guler Collection, Haripur, East Punjab (photo: J. C. French). *20, 37–41, 43, 69* 24

17. The Gods in Vishnu's Heaven. Guler, *c.* 1765. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 130–1951). *40–43, 89, 90* 24

18. Krishna awaiting Radha. Guler, *c.* 1765. After Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, II, xliv. *90* 25

19. Radha and Krishna in a Garden-house. Guler, *c.* 1765. Radha Krishna Jalan Collection, Patna. *42* 25

20. The Lady and the Messenger. Guler, *c.* 1765. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 129–1951). *42* 26

FIGURE PAGE

21. Chandi Devi. Guler, *c.* 1750. Central Museum, Lahore. *37* 26
22. Raja Gobardhan Singh of Guler (*c.* 1730–1773) with Ladies. Guler, *c.* 1750. Municipal Museum, Allahabad. *20, 37, 39, 43, 71* .. 27
23. Krishna rescuing the sleeping Nanda. Illustration to the *Bhagavata Purana.* Guler, *c.* 1745. Central Museum, Lahore. *38, 44, 71* 27
24. Raja Prakash Singh of Guler (1773–90). Guler, *c.* 1760. Central Museum, Lahore. *20, 37, 41, 42* 28
25. Krishna and the Milkmaids. Guler, *c.* 1755. Central Museum, Lahore. *37, 71* 28
26. The Emergence of Kausiki. Illustration to the *Markandeya Purana.* Guler, *c.* 1755. Central Museum, Lahore. *37, 39–41, 89* .. 29
27. The Devas worshipping Durga. Illustration to the *Markandeya Purana.* Guler, *c.* 1750. Central Museum, Lahore. *37* 29
28. The Devas worshipping the Absent Durga. Illustration to the *Markandeya Purana.* Guler, *c.* 1750. Central Museum, Lahore. *39* .. 30
29. Siva and Parbati with their Children on Mount Kailasa. Guler, *c.* 1755. Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles Collection (I.S. 11–1949). *39–41, 89* 31
30. The Lady by the Lake. Guler, *c.* 1755. Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles Collection (I.S. 32–1949). *39, 41* .. 32
31. The Lady and the Plantain. Guler, *c.* 1765. Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles Collection (I.S. 27–1949). *42* .. 33
32. The Toilet. Guler-Kangra, *c.* 1770. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *42, 43* 34
33. Raja Gobardhan Singh of Guler (*c.* 1730–1773) with his Rani on a Bed by a Stream. Guler-Kangra, *c.* 1770. G. K. Kanoria Collection, Calcutta. *43* 35
34. Raja Raj Singh of Chamba (1764–94) walking with his Rani. Chamba (Guler-Kangra) *c.* 1790. Musée du Couvre (Musée Guimet), Paris *43, 85, 86* 36
35. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu with a Party of Musicians. Jammu, dated 1748. By Nainsukh. Central Museum, Lahore. *46–48, 69, 90* 53

FIGURE PAGE

36. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu receiving a Picture. Jammu, *c.* 1750. R. K. Jalan Collection, Patna. *46, 47, 50, 91* 54
37. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu being entertained by Boy-dancers and Musicians. Jammu, *c.* 1750. W. B. Manley Collection, Guildford. *46, 48, 69* 54
38. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu inspecting a Horse. Jammu, *c.* 1750. W. B. Manley Collection, Guildford. *45, 47, 48, 50, 52* .. 55
39. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu at his Prayers. Jammu, *c.* 1750. R. K. Jalan Collection, Patna. *46* 55
40. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota on a Riding Expedition. Jammu, *c.* 1750. W. B. Manley Collection, Guildford. *46–48* .. 56
41. Showing the Horse. Detail from Figure 43. Jammu, *c.* 1750. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 188–1951). *48* 57
42. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota. Basohli, *c.* 1760. W. B. Manley Collection, Guildford. *52* 57
43. Raja examining the Points of a Horse by Torch-light. Jammu, *c.* 1750–1770. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 188–1951). *47–49, 91* 58
44. Mian Brij Raj Dev of Jammu (1781–86) with Courtier and Attendant. Jammu, *c.* 1770. W. B. Manley Collection, Guildford. *47–51, 82* 59
45. Mian Tedhi Mighalau Bhotia. Jammu, *c.* 1760. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 186–1951). *49, 70* 60
46. Mian Kailasvati Bandral. Jammu, *c.* 1760. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 187–1951). *49* 60
47. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775–1823). Kangra, *c.* 1795. Indian National Museum, New Delhi. *70* 61
48. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota. Jammu,. *c.* 1760. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 185–1951). *49, 51, 70* 61
49. Mian Brij Raj Dev of Jammu (1781–6) with Courtiers and Dancing-girls. Jammu, *c.* 1775. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 180–1951). *51, 70* .. 62

FIGURE PAGE

50. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775–1823) visiting a Ruler. Kangra (Jammu-Sikh), *c.* 1780. Maharaja of Lambagaon Collection, Kangra district, East Punjab. (photo: J. C. French). *69, 70* 63

51. Bahadur Singh with Children. Jammu, *c.* 1750. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 179–1951). *50, 51, 70, 82* 64

52. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775–1823) with his Son, Anirodh Chand. Kangra (Jammu-Sikh), dated 1796. Signed and endorsed by William Moorcroft. Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 173–1950). *69, 70* 65

53. Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra (1751–74). Kangra (Jammu-Sikh), *c.* 1770. Maharaja of Lambagaon Collection, Kangra district, East Punjab (photo: J. C. French). *69, 70, 86, 91* 65

54. Raja Ugar Singh of Chamba (1720–35). Jammu, *c.* 1730. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 182–1951). *49–51, 82* 66

55. Lady seeking Solace. Jammu, *c.* 1760. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 183–1951). *51, 83* 67

56. Lady with a Buck. Jammu, *c.* 1760. After Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, II, xlviii a. *51* 68

57. Radha and Krishna. Jammu, *c.* 1760. Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles Collection (I.S. 145–1949). *51* 68

58. Awaiting the Lover: *Utka Nayika*. Punch, *c.* 1780. Central Museum, Lahore. *72, 84* 73

59. Lady on her Way to the Tryst: *Abhisarika Nayika*. Punch, *c.* 1780. Central Museum, Lahore. *72, 84* 73

60. Lady on a Terrace. Punch, *c.* 1780. Central Museum, Lahore. *72, 81* 74

FIGURE PAGE

61. Lady seeking Solace: *Prosita-patika Nayika*. Punch, *c.* 1780. Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 105–1951). *72, 84* 74

62. Lady on a Terrace. Punch, *c.* 1760. W. G. Archer Collection, Oxford. *72, 81–84* .. 75

63. The Father of the Kauravas. Illustration to the *Mahabharata*. Punch, *c.* 1770. Central Museum, Lahore. *71* 75

64. Ruler being entertained by Dancing-girls. Punch, *c.* 1750. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 175–1951). *81, 83, 84* 76

65. Lady being led to her Lover. Punch, *c.* 1770. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein Collection (I.S. 177–1951). *83* 77

66. The Expectant Heroine: *Vasakasayya Nayika*. Punch, *c.* 1780. Victoria and Albert Museum, (I.S. 103–1951). *72, 84* 77

67. Durga slaying the Demon, Mahesasura. Punch, *c.* 1760. Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 460–1950). *82–84* 78

68. Sultan Ibrahim Adham fed by Angels in the Wilderness. Punch, *c.* 1760. G. K. Kanoria Collection, Calcutta. *83, 84, 92* 79

69. Lady on her Way to the Tryst: *Abhisarika Nayika*. Punch, *c.* 1780. Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 104–1951). *72, 84* 80

70. The Jilted Lady: *Vipralabdha Nayika*. Punch, *c.* 1780. Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 102–1951). *72, 84* 80

Figures 16, 50 and 53 by courtesy of Mr J. C. French; Figures 21, 24–27, 58–60 and 63 by courtesy of the Central Museum, Lahore; Figures 11–13, 18 and 56 by courtesy of the Oxford University Press; Figures 5, 22, 23, 28, 32 and 35 by courtesy of the Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House.

INDEX

Adina Beg Khan, 88.
Afghans, invasions by, 18, 45, 90.
Agrawala, V.S., 3, 91.
Amritsar, 6.
Anirodh Chand of Kangra, Raja, 6, 70, Fig. 52.
Archer, Mildred, 3.
Aurangzeb, Mughal Emperor, 18.

Bahadur Singh, 50. Fig. 51.
Balwant Dev (or Singh) of Jammu, Raja, 46, 48, 49, 52, 90–91. Figs. 35–39.
Bandhralta, 15, 45, 49.
Barnes, G. C., 85.
Barrett, Douglas, 3, 89.
Basohli, State of, 5, 6, 44, 45, 71.
— painting in, 6, 15, 19, 20, 37, 45, 52, 87. Figs. 5–10, 42.
Beveridge, H., 92.
Bhadrawah, 15, 45.
Bhagavata Purana, illustrations to, 38, 44. Figs. 2, 4, 23.
Bharany, Radha Krishna, 43, 72.
Bhau, 15.
Bhoti, 49.
Bikram Singh of Guler, Raja, 18, 88.
Brij Raj Dev of Jammu, Mian or Raja, 45, 47–51, 69, 70, 91. Figs. 44, 49.

Chamba, State of, 6, 16, 18, 44, 50, 84.
— painting in, 6, 43, 71, 72. Fig. 34.
Chandi Devi, 37, 38. Fig. 21.
Chandra, Moti, 3, 91.
Coles, Miss G. M., 3.
Coomaraswamy, A. K., 15, 19, 38, 45, 49, 86, 87, 89, 90.
Cypresses, 19, 38, 41–43, 90.

Dalip Singh of Guler, Raja, 18, 20.
Dancing-girls, 5, 41, 42, 50, 82, 84, 90.
Dealers, 6, 87.
Delhi, 16, 18.
Dhrub Dev of Jammu, Raja, 45, 50, 90.
Dickinson, Eric, 87.
Draupadi, unveiling of, 38, 41, 71. Fig. 14.
Durga, pictures of, 37, 39, 82–4, 88, 89, 92. Figs. 5, 27, 28, 67.

Edinburgh University, library of, 92.

Finlayson, C. P., 92.
French, J. C., 3, 18–20, 37, 69, 71, 84, 86, 88–92.
Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von, 86.

Gangoly, O. C., 42, 90.
Garhwal, Tehri, State of, 15.
— painting in, 15, 87.
Ghamand Chand of Kangra, Raja, 6, 69, 70, 86, 91. Fig. 53.
Ghansar Dev of Jammu, Raja, 90.
Ghose, Ajit, 15, 18, 19, 45, 87, 88, 90.
Gita Gobinda, illustrations to, 15. Fig. 10.
Gobardhan Singh of Guler, Raja, 18–20, 37–9, 43, 44, 69, 88. Figs. 16, 22, 33.
Goetz, H., 38, 86, 89.
Gray, Basil, 3, 87, 89–91.
Gulab Singh of Punch, Raja, 71.
Guler, State of, 17, 71, 84.
— painting in, 17–44, 52, 69–71, 81, 83, 84, 89, 90. Figs. 11–33.
— migration of artists from, 71, 72.
Gupta, S. N., 88, 91.
Gurkhas, 6.

Hamir-Hath, 6, 86.
Hari Chand of Kangra and Guler, Raja, 87.
Haripur, 18, 88.
Hataf Bandral, Raja, 49.
Himalayan Art, 18, 20, 86, 88, 89.
Hutchinson, J., 18, 85, 87, 88, 90–92.

Ibrahim Adham, Sultan, 83, 84, 92. Fig. 68.
Impey, Sir Elijah, 92.
India Office, library of, 92.
Irvine, W., 92.
Irwin, John, 3.
Iswari Sen of Mandi, Raja, 6, 86.

Jai Singh, Mian, 50.
Jamil, artist in Punch, 81. Fig. 62.
Jammu, State of, 18, 44, 45, 71.
— painting in, 19, 45–70, 82, 83. Figs. 35–41, 43–46, 48, 49, 51, 54–57.
— migration of artists from, 70.
Jasper, R. L. D., 3.
Jasrota, 15, 16, 45, 49.
Jayadeva, 5.

Kailasvati Bandral, Mian, 49. Fig. 46.
Kangra, State of, 5, 17, 18, 44, 69–71, 84, 85, 88.
— painting and style, 6, 15, 17, 37, 40, 42–44, 70, 71, 81, 83. Figs. 1–4, 32–34, 47.
— migration of artists from, 6.
Kanoria, Gopi Krishna, 3.
Kashmir, 71.

Kashtwar, 44, 45.
Katoch Rajputs, clan of, 17, 38, 88.
Kausiki, 37, 39, 41, 89. Fig. 26.
Khandalawala, Karl, 3, 87.
Kharak Singh, Raja, 69.
Kirpal Pal of Basohli, Raja, 15, 87.
Kotla, 15.
Krishna Das, Rai, 3.
Krishna, pictures of, 37, 38, 42, 52, 71. Figs. 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 18, 19, 23, 25, 57.
Kulu, 15, 16.

Lahore, 6, 71, 90, 91.
Laku Singh, Mian, 50. Fig. 51.
Lal, Mukandi, 15, 87.
Lambagaon, 69, 86.
Lanka, fort at, 19, 20.
Leverhulme Fellowships, Trustees of, 3.
Lucknow, 83.
Lyall, J. B., 85.

Mahabharata, illustrations to, 37, 38, 71. Figs. 14, 15, 63.
Mahesasura, Durga fighting with, 82.
Manaku, Basohli patroness, 15, 87.
Mandi, State of, 6.
— painting in, 38.
Mankot, 15, 16.
Manley, W. B., 3.
Mannu, Mir, Governor of Lahore, 46, 90, 91.
Man Singh of Guler, Raja, 18.
Manucci, Niccolao, 92.
Markandeya Purana, illustrations to, 37, 39. Figs. 26–28.
Masterpieces of Rajput Painting, 42, 90.
McPherson, G. D. A., 3.
Medini Pal of Basohli, Raja, 15.
Mehta, N. C., 87.
Mola Ram, artist of Garhwal, 15.
Moorcroft, William, 6, 69, 70, 85.
Moti Singh of Punch, Raja, 71.
Mughal painting and style, 5, 18, 37, 40, 52, 69.
Muhai-ud-din, Ghulam, 44, 85.
Muhammadan influence in painting, 81, 83, 86.
Mukand Dev of Jasrota, Mian, 46, 49, 52. Figs. 40, 42, 48.

Nainsukh, artist of Jasrota, 46–48, 52, 90, 91.
Naro Singh, Mian, 50. Fig. 51.
Nurpur, 15.

Pahari painting, style of, 5, 6, 15, 17.
Parbati, 39. Fig. 29.
Persians, invasions by, 18.
Plains, Punjab, 16, 18, 45, 69–71, 89.
Prakash Singh of Guler, 18, 37, 41, 42, 44. Fig. 24.
Punch, State of, 71.
— painting in, 71–84. Figs. 58–70.

Radha, pictures of, 42, 52, 71. Figs. 6–10, 19, 57.
Raghunath Singh of Guler, Raja, 18, 90.
Rajputana, 16, 89.
Rajput Painting, 15, 38, 87, 89, 90.
Rajput society, 5.
Raj Singh of Chamba, Raja, 6, 43, 44, 85. Fig. 34.
Ramayana, illustrations to, 19, 37, 38, 40, 42, 88. Figs. 11–13.
Ranjit Singh, Sikh Maharaja, 69.
Red, symbolic use of, 39, 41–43.
Robinson, B. W., 3.
Rothenstein, Sir William, 3, 47, 87.
Rupchand of Guler, Raja, 18.

Samba, 15.
Sampuran Dev of Jammu, Raja, 69.
Sansar Chand of Kangra, Raja, 6, 38, 40, 44, 69, 70, 85, 91. Figs. 47, 50, 52.
Sajnu, artist of Kangra, 6.
Sastri, Hirananda, 15, 86, 87.
Shah Jahan, Mughal Emperor, 18.
Shyam Singh of Chamba, Raja, 85, 86.
Sikhs, incursions by, 45, 69, 84.
— patronage of art by, 6, 84.
— relations with, 70.
Siva, pictures of, 39, Fig. 29.
Smith, V. A., 92.
Srinagar, (Kashmir) 71.
Stchoukine, I., 85.
Surat Singh of Jammu, Raja, 90.

Tedhi Mighalau Bhotia, Mian, 49, 70. Fig. 45.
Tegh Chand of Kangra, Raja, 6, 69.
Tira Sujanpur, 69.

Udai Singh of Chamba, Raja, 50.
Ugar Singh of Chamba, Raja, 50, 51. Fig. 54.
Ujfalvy, K. E. von, 86.

Vogel, J. P., 18, 43, 85, 87, 88, 90–92.

Wilkinson, J. V. S., 3.

Large coloured reproductions of representative pictures from various schools of Indian painting may be obtained from the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Copies of this book may be had from the Victoria and Albert Museum bookstall and from H.M. Stationery Office, York House, Kingsway, London, W.C.2; 429 Oxford St., London, W.1 (orders by post to be sent to P.O. Box 569, London, S.E.1); 13a Castle St., Edinburgh, 2; 39 King St., Manchester, 2; 2 Edmund St., Birmingham, 3; 1 St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff; Tower Lane, Bristol, 1. 80 Chichester St., Belfast; or through any bookseller; Obtainable in the United States of America from the British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

Price 8s. 6d. net By post 8s. 10d.

Wt. 4196 K 20 S.O. Code No. 29-1590*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh